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The Pan African Institute for Development-West Africa : a case study in institution building.

Stephen Nji Mbandi
University of Massachusetts Amherst

THE PAN AFRICAN INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT-WEST AFRICA: A CASE STUDY IN INSTITUTION BUILDING

A Dissertation Presented

By

STEPHEN NJI MBANDI

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STEPHEN NJI MBANDI

Approved as to style and content by:

Ernest D. Washington

Dr. Ernest D. Washington, Chairperson

John H. Foster

Dr. John H. Foster, Member

Robert J. Miltz

Dr. Robert Miltz, Member

Mario D. Fantini

Dr. Mario D. Fantini, Dean
School of Education

To My Whole Family

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ABSTRACT

The Pan African Institute for Development-West Africa:

A Case Study in Institution Building

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Stephen Nji Mbandi

B.A., International Christian University, Tokyo

M.A. (ECON), University of Manchester, England

Ed.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Dr. Ernest D. Washington

The Pan African Institute for Development-West Africa (PAID/WA), located in Buea, Cameroon, is a non-governmental international institution that runs a one year training program in integrated rural development for middle level development staff from English speaking Africa.

Since its inception in 1969, it has not only succeeded in accomplishing some of its major objectives, but has also had difficulties in getting some countries to recognize the value and worth of its course.

The main aim of this exploratory and evaluative study was to determine the important factors that have contributed to strengthening and/or inhibiting the institution building efforts and development process at PAID/WA.

The theoretical underpinning that guided the conduct and parameters of the research was the conceptual scheme of institution

variables and linkages proposed by Esman and further refined by others. Against this framework, the Institute's efforts were assessed, using a triangulation of evaluation models and case study techniques as the main methodological approach. Data sources were both qualitative and quantitative.

As evident from findings, PAID/WA's programs to some extent have been accepted and valued as a consequence of the following positive attributes: (i) its main focus on rural development and emphasis on integration as a suitable strategy for promoting it, (ii) its ability to stay neutral and free from extraneous influences, (iii) an international character that encourages the cross-fertilization of ideas, and (iv) the commitment and dedication of its staff who have proven to be an asset in accomplishing institutional goals.

On the contrary, the following factors were observed as inhibiting its institution building efforts: (i) non-uniform admission requirements, (ii) incongruity in expectations between employers and trainees, (iii) inadequate dissemination of information about PAID as a whole, (iv) the non recognition of the Institute's diploma by some employers, and (v) the unbalanced distribution of influence and power within the organization.

The study then concluded by recommending several measures for improvements including the elimination of the above shortcomings. Suggestions for further research were also made.

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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

One of the most serious problems that faces many African countries today, even after two decades of political independence, is the issue of providing adequate training facilities that would help to produce skilled and dedicated agents of change, capable of motivating population groups to find solutions to their development problems on a self-reliant basis.

In the past, particularly during the forties and fifties, economic growth and development pursuits were essentially conceptualized in terms of large-scale capital investments in projects. As perceived then, it was presumed that by generating income earning opportunities, people will have jobs from which they could earn a living, thus creating a situation in which their standards of living could be raised gradually (Minhas, 1979; Milikan and Blackmer (eds.), 1961).

By the early sixties, strategies of this kind were becoming largely discredited because for the most part, they were seen to be failing (Seers, 1977; Pinches, 1977). Not only were the large masses who were already poor, getting poorer, but they were also increasingly becoming restive because they lacked the skills to find solutions to their own problems, as well as the simple means to obtain the basic necessities of life such as food, safe drinking water, proper health facilities and a host of other essential amenities.

Given these shortcomings and the potentially explosive situation that seemed to be rapidly brewing out of these problems, it soon became apparent that new strategies needed to be formulated, and that the basic framework of the development process required serious re-thinking. What this essentially meant or implied was the fact that while it was necessary to reexamine the various problems that appeared to be having serious consequences on development efforts, it seemed also important at the same time to develop a new approach and especially an educational methodology that would enable many agents of change to be trained effectively and rapidly. Such a move, it was believed, would help to produce workers who were not primarily committed to the idea of capital investments as the only route to economic development, but workers who also had as their main asset and strength, the ability to motivate and mobilize the masses toward the type of goals that would promote and bring about realistic modernization (Lerner, 1958).

The need to induce such social and economic change on a large scale all over the Third World, using new approaches, explains why, particularly during the sixties, many scholars concerned with development problems devoted much of their time and resources in doing research that would lead to the finding of solutions to problems of immediate concern. Prominent among these attempts were the efforts of Esman (1966), Philips (1969), Eaton (1972), Hill, Haynes and Baumgartel (1973), Hanson (1968) and a host of other scholars of the

Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building (IRPIB) at the University of Pittsburgh, and the Committee on Institutional Cooperation of the Agency for International Development.

One important outcome of this manifest interest to induce change was not only the efforts of researchers in their attempts to find new strategies, but also the practical steps that were taken by some governments and international agencies to establish institutions which would facilitate the training of development manpower.

A notable case in point, which also is the main focus of this study, is the Pan African Institute for Development--West Africa (PAID/WA), a development training college that was established for English-speaking Africans in Buea, Cameroon, by its parent organization, the Pan African Institute for Development (PAID). The latter, a non-governmental and private international institution founded in Cameroon during the early sixties, later established its head office in Geneva, Switzerland.

Facilities of this kind have not only provided the opportunities for offering relevant home-based education and training to many Africans, but have indeed provided a new framework through which genuine solutions can be found to problems of development.

The Problem

Since its inception in 1969, PAID/WA has not only attempted to provide the basic skills required in promoting development efforts,

but has ventured to depart from conventional methods of attacking development problems by placing more emphasis on action-oriented programs in the field of training and research. The current one year program in integrated rural development that is offered by the Institute lays more emphasis on the need to equip participants with skills which are not limited to any one professional discipline. This objective is accomplished by the recruitment of staff from different disciplines, the admission of students from several fields and levels of professional experience and education, and above all, through the organization of a training program that aims at providing a wide range of skills and techniques for tackling development problems.

While the Institute's methods and strategies have been hailed as unique and most relevant by some of its clients, others, on the contrary, have been very critical of it. Among the many criticisms which have been levied against its methods are, first, the non-uniformity in its policy of student admissions, followed by the diversity in the levels of students' professional backgrounds, and third, the lack of in-depth focus or specialization for a considerable period in a discipline related to one's work or interest.

As a result of these and other shortcomings, some countries have been hesitant to recognize the value of the training offered by the Institute, and consequently, have not found it easy to accept

the diplomas awarded to participants. Countries like Cameroon have even gone one step further to threaten that unless the present one year course is substantially restructured, it may even prevent its nationals from attending future courses. Negative reactions of this kind have gone a long way to confirm the fact that a systematic evaluation is needed to detect and identify problem areas and other factors which may lead and enable the development of a much more valued and acceptable training program.

That there is a real problem with the Institute's one year course is reflected by what others including members on its staff have had to say. Ergas (1978), in an evaluation report on the training course, came to the conclusion that even though the general impression among many clients was that the Institute is 'doing something' useful, there were still certain flaws in the program that needed to be corrected. He went on to add that

> From both the employers and students point of view, the usefulness of PAID's training program as a whole in Africa by Africans for Africans cannot be seriously denied. (But that) time had come for the institution to engage itself in some bold reforms (p. 16).

In another evaluation report carried out by a joint team from the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Pan African Institute for Development (1980), PAID/WA is noted as not having substantially modified its one year course over a period of six consecutive years in spite of the need to do so. The report went on to recommend that a review of the course be carried out for

its appropriateness.

In a paper presented to the second seminar on the future of PAID in Douala, Cameroon, Mbandi (1980) also outlined a number of contradictions and shortcomings which in his view have been inimical and inhibitive to the institution building process and efforts of PAID/WA. He noted that there were still a substantial number of problems which required urgent solutions. These include problems of course content, course scheduling, program duration, diploma recognition and a host of others.

He went on to refute the Institute's claim to uniqueness, and observed that her programs could only be judged as special if she were offering courses quite different from what is obtainable from other institutions of similar character.

Quite apart from these criticisms from non PAID sources and its own immediate staff, the Six Year Development Plan (1981) of PAID has also made some observations with respect to its weaknesses as follows:

> There are problems, however, in the structure of teaching, especially in the establishment of links between theoretical and practical training. There are also numerous pedagogical difficulties because of disparities not only in the students' levels but also in the diversity of their professional backgrounds. The recognition and equivalence of diplomas by some governments and non-governmental organizations (NGO) also raises some problems (p. 26).

What appears to be quite clear from these various reports is the fact that there are still some very serious issues to which PAID/WA

needs to address itself more succinctly if its institution building activities will have to be improved. The necessity to have its program valued or achieve what scholars of institution building have described as 'institutionality' (Esman and Blaise, 1966), or 'institutional accomplishment' (Hill et al, 1973), still remains a problem to be solved.

As Esman (1966) has noted, the end state of any institution building efforts is characterized by the fact that

> a viable organization has been established which incorporates innovations; (and that) the organization and the innovations it represents have been accepted and taken up by relevant groups in the environment (p. 22).

Indeed, there is a great deal that can be said about an organization which is neither fully cherished nor valued by its clientele or those who benefit directly from it. In the final analysis, such organizations will not be seen as performing a relevant function unless they are capable of maintaining their ability to normatively influence and regulate the social relationships and actions of both their members and their clients in an acceptable manner.

Hanson (1968) in discussing the importance of the concept of institutionality as applicable for the development process has explained and elaborated on it as follows:

> One of the most unfortunate residues from colonialism in developing nations is the fact that colonial institutions often came to be valued for their own sakes, to be seen as having some intrinsic value which raised them above the challenge of assessment in terms of their usefulness in fulfilling social purposes.

> Once an institution is so viewed, attempts to alter it become singularly difficult . . . . The important ingredient in the 'institutionality' sought for development purposes is that the organization, while retaining its own identity, not lose its capacity to adapt to changing circumstances (p. 305).

In conceptual terms, PAID/WA's inability to be fully accepted and valued by its clientele can be regarded as a case in which institutionality has only been partially accomplished or achieved. The main problem with which the Institute is then faced is the concern of how to organize its programs and activities so as to deliver a valuable service that meets the expressed needs of its users.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study, then, is to explore those relevant factors that have so far contributed positively or negatively to the institutional development efforts and process at PAID/WA since its inception in 1969. More specifically, it is an evaluation effort aimed at determining crucial factors of strengths and weaknesses inherent in the institution's system, so as to seek and consider ways of effecting changes and improvements in its programs and other activities for the future.

For the purpose of determining these factors, the study has been addressed to the following main research question: What significant factors have inhibited or contributed to the institution

building efforts of PAID/WA especially with regards to the acceptance of its training program in integrated rural development by its clientele? In order to thoroughly investigate these factors, the above ultimate research question was subdivided into other related questions as follows:

(a) What conceptual issues are most pertinent in understanding and explaining the systemic behavior of organizations or institutions?

(b) What are the significant historical factors leading to the founding of PAID in general, and the establishment of PAID/WA in particular?

(c) What is the nature and character of PAID/WA in terms of its doctrine, objectives, leadership, programs, resources, internal structure and system of management?

(d) What are the main strengths and weaknesses of PAID/WA's institution building efforts, and to what factors can the weaknesses be attributed?

(e) What factors need to be considered for the purpose of strengthening the institution building efforts of PAID/WA?

The issues covered in the above related questions were, therefore, the main factors or major categories of problems that guided the conduct of the research.

Definition of Terms

The literature on institution building is replete with various terms and concepts, a good many of which are not clear, and furthermore, have not been used in a consistent manner. This absence of clarity of standard usage is not a problem of institution building literature alone, but one that is common to the social sciences. As Beteille (1977) has noted and argued quite convincingly, such lack of standardization and inconsistency has tended to lead to ambiguities and futile debates. In order to avoid the possibilities of erroneous interpretations, certain terms used in this study have been defined below as follows:

Organization. This term will be used to refer to "a social group or unit that has been deliberately and consciously constructed in order to seek certain specific goals" (Etzioni, 1964, p. 3). The kind of organization to which reference is made here is the formal hierarchical type, with a clear division of power and labor, roles, functions and rules governing the conduct of members.

Institution. For the purpose of this study, it is defined as "the organized capacity to perform the important economic, social or political functions in a society" (Bernstein, 1969, p. 5).

Some writers have found it necessary to make a distinction between organizations and institutions. The argument against using both terms synonymously is that the latter is an extension of the

former. Uphoff (1971), for example, distinguishes between the two as follows:

> An institution is more than an organization and more than a cultural pattern. It attracts support and legitimacy from its environment so that it can better perform its functions and services. This is the essential dynamic of institution building (p. 24).

This distinction is further emphasized by Duncan and Pooler (1967). According to both writers, organizations can be called institutions when they develop the capacity

> to act as agents for the larger society by providing valued functions and services. More than this, they serve as models for defining legitimate normative and value patterns, conserving and protecting them for the larger society (p. 1).

As also perceived by Selznick (1957), organizations are institutions which have been institutionalized or 'infused with value beyond the technical requirements at hand.' In keeping with this distinction, Esman and Bruhns (1969) then add that while all institutions are organizations of some type, not all organizations are institutions.

According to this researcher, this dichotomy or distinction between the two terms does not appear to be helpful particularly within the context of most developing countries where newly formed organizations are often immediately valued for their own sake. The extent to which the two terms seem to be creating some confusion has also been noted by Etzioni (1964). According to him,

> Institutions are sometimes used to refer to certain types of organizations . . . . Sometimes institutions refer to quite a different

> phenomenon--namely, to a normative principle that culturally defines behavior such as marriage or property. Because of these two conflicting usages, this term has probably caused more confusion than formal organization and bureaucracy together. All three might well be avoided in favor of the simple term, organization (p. 3).

In order to avoid these kinds of confusion, which have also been noted by Knop (1973) and Rose (1967), the two terms, i.e., organization and institution, will be used interchangeably in this study.

Institution Building. This term will be used to mean

> the process of deliberately forming a new institution or reforming an existing one (Hill et al, 1971, p. 4).

The literature on institution building has variously described the basic conceptual framework developed by Esman and Blaise (1966) as a perspective or model (Siffin, 1972); as a framework (Duncan and Pooler, 1972); as concepts (Smuckler, 1972); as a heuristic device (Siffin in Thomas, 1972); and as a theory (Axinn, 1970). In order to avoid wrong interpretations, these various terms will be used in the study to refer to the original core of institutional variables and conceptual scheme developed by Esman and further refined by other scholars of institution building research, many of whom have been cited above.

Institutionality. As defined by Esman (1966), it is the end-state of institution building efforts characterized by the following conditions: (a) a viable organization has been established which

incorporates innovations and (b) the organization and the innovations it represents have been accepted and taken up by relevant groups in the environment.

Scope and Limitations

The theoretical underpinning that has guided this research is the institution building conceptual scheme and categories of variables developed by Esman et al (1966). This set of guiding constructs and principles is particularly advantageous for analyses of this kind from the viewpoint of its cogency, and also the fact that it is straightforward and uncomplicated as an explanatory gadget for those kinds of data that can otherwise be unwieldy and difficult to manage (Smuckler, 1972). Furthermore, the schematic framework is appropriate for its generic character from the viewpoint of its applicability to all types of formal organizations. Its usefulness as a conceptual reference point for this study was seen as stemming from its ability to be used as an instrument for evaluating institutionality or the extent to which institutional maturity is occurring or has been achieved. As Rigney (1972) has pointed out, the model serves as a useful device for evaluations.

Besides the choice of a conceptual model, another important element that was given serious consideration in drawing out the limits of the study is a factor in naturalistic inquiry evaluations that Guba (1978) has described as the 'boundary problem.' Briefly defined,

it means the extent to which study limits have been clearly defined and established. Essentially, it is a problem of focus, and the extent to which it is desirable to study a few questions in detail, or more in less depth.

As already described above, the main purpose of the research was to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the PAID/WA system in order to look into ways of making improvements. From this point of view, it was therefore critical to confine the investigation to defined themes that would enable this researcher to gather specific data necessary for identifying important factors relevant to the institution building process at PAID/WA.

A further limitation that needs to be noted is the boundary of coverage which could not be extended outside the English-speaking countries of West Africa, even though for the past twelve years, the Institute has been recruiting its course members from all English-speaking countries south of the Sahara and with the exception of South Africa.

In making the decision to limit the investigation to Cameroon, Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, account was taken of the fact that PAID had only decentralized its facilities a few years ago, and at that time, specific decisions had been made to the effect that its training and other related activities would be confined to the above six countries. Even though students are still accepted on its one year course from all over Africa as before, at least

on a temporary basis, its forward planning at present is aimed and geared toward meeting the training and development needs of West African countries.

A second factor that rendered it difficult to conduct a much more inclusive study is the problem of limited resources. This researcher did not have the required funds to engage in an extensive study of any kind. Besides, it was strongly felt that nothing significant would be lost by confining the study to its present geographical limits or boundaries.

Basic Assumption

In conceptualizing and designing this study, one major assumption was made. It was assumed that PAID/WA's inability to achieve institutionality on a complete basis has been due, not only to the inherent weaknesses identified in its training programs and other activities, but also partly due to the diverse requirements and development needs of its clientele who are at different stages in their economic development efforts.

Need for and Significance of the Study

The study was intended to accomplish a number of specific objectives. First, as a formative evaluation of the growth and development efforts of the Institute, it is aimed at providing Institute authorities, program planners, and other relevant staff,

basic but important information concerning its problems, progress and potentials--which assessment can be useful when making future decisions about programs and other activities. The extent to which evaluations of this kind are considered to be important for institutional renewal and change has been emphasized by Weiss (1972), Sanders and Cunningham (1974), Provus (1971) and Patton (1980).

A second need for the study may be seen in its use to donors and other agencies that support the Institute in various ways. Because quite often those who support programs of this kind are justifiably interested in knowing the extent to which their contributions have been relevantly utilized, the study has a major function of giving accountability to its backers--which information can also be taken into consideration by them when making decisions regarding future support.

A third need and consequence is related to the desire to establish institutions of similar nature in various parts of the African continent by governments and other development agencies. By putting forward the case of PAID/WA as a model and reference point for learning the lessons of experience, the study will make a meaningful contribution regarding how to avoid mistakes when embarking on projects of this or similar kinds.

A final and vital function of the study is in the assembling and building up of a data bank of information related to institution building activities especially in Third World countries. Currently,

development practitioners, particularly institution builders, suffer from a great lack of data and sources of information in this field. This study will achieve a useful purpose in terms of putting together relevant literature which is relatively unknown or widely dispersed.

C H A P T E R II

INSTITUTION BUILDING AS A STRATEGY FOR INDUCED SOCIAL CHANGE: AN ASSESSMENT OF GENERAL THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The Emergence of Institution Building Literature

Collective efforts to produce literature with an "institution building perspective" dates as far back as late in 1962, when a consortium, the Inter-University Program in Institution Building (IRPIB) was formed by the Universities of Pittsburgh, Indiana, Syracuse and Michigan State to conduct research on how to induce social change through institutions especially in developing countries (Blase, 1973).

Shortly after the founding of this research body, another group was created between 1964 and 1968, almost on a similar basis. The Committee on Institutional Cooperation (CIC) as it came to be known, was made up of the big ten universities in the United States, at the time including the University of Chicago. Its main aim was to analyze the experiences of AID supported university projects and technical assistance efforts with developing nations, especially in the field of rural development and in the building of institutions to serve agriculture (CIC-AID Report, 1968).

Through the efforts of these two groups, including other individual researchers like Eaton (1972), an analytical approach with

respect to the building of institutions was developed. The contributions so far made through their research activities have not only generated much enthusiasm and support from development practitioners engaged in field work in many Third World settings, but have also proved to be an invaluable source of knowledge to scholars of social change in advanced countries who for a long time have shown considerable interest in developing suitable strategies and approaches for inducing change in developing countries.

The outcomes of these research activities have also been of particular utility to development practitioners in the Third World because for a long time they have nurtured the interest to carry out their own activities within the context of a systematic framework, but have lacked the appropriate means or concepts through which meaningful interpretations and analyses of their experiences can be made. The development of an 'institution building perspective' has thus provided a logical frame of reference and consequently, a better opportunity for achieving a much more profound understanding of the role that can be played by institutions in the process of social change.

On the part of especially scholars who were engaged in these research activities, such a development has been particularly gratifying from the viewpoint of overcoming the sense of frustration which they experienced in the course of their work over long periods of time. Although they sensed that the process in which they were engaged was researchable, they did not find the concepts and

appropriate schemes with which to make their individual experiences cumulative and reasonably transferable from one setting to the next (Smuckler, 1972). It was by no means this sense of frustration and the obvious need to describe more clearly the work in which they were engaged that led directly to the efforts in defining the institution building concepts and process variables that have provided this study its theoretical basis.

This chapter attempts to explore and assess the conceptual framework and process variables that have emerged from the studies of scholars from the two consortia as well as from the research activities of other equally interested individual academics and practitioners.

An Overview of the Conceptual Scheme

The main theoretical underpinning that has so far guided the conduct of most institution building studies and research activities stems from the works of Milton Esman, and subsequently from his other associates of the IRPIB (Esman and Blaise, 1966; Esman, 1967; Esman and Bruhns, 1969).

In his effort to develop appropriate strategies for inducing social change, especially in the Third World countries, Esman (1966) has proposed a conceptual scheme--which model has attracted wide attention among scholars of institution building methodology, and other users who have applied it to actual field situations (Siffin,

1972; Smuckler, 1972).

The conceptual scheme as developed and introduced is fundamentally concerned with complex formal organizations as a vehicle or mechanism for the transfer of technology and consequently the inducement of change in any given environment. According to Esman, development essentially involves the introduction of innovations into society for the main purpose of ensuring the emergence of certain favorable changes and new patterns of life that are regarded as conducive to the well-being of its members. The introduction of such change or innovations, he says, concerns the manipulation of the physical environment and/or the regulation of social relationships in the host society for the purpose of producing certain desired results.

In the sense that many of these changes are technological, they often carry along with them potentials for disrupting the social and economic, and sometimes the political, structures of recipient host settings. For instance, agricultural extension methods and the idea of family planning, when imported and applied wholesale in a developing country without the necessary modifications, may seriously disrupt and disorganize stable patterns of life, which in turn may negatively affect the status and power arrangements, and other facets of social life.

Because of the uncertainties that accompany these innovations, there is quite often the tendency for fear and insecurity to be bred, which eventually may lead to their rejection. While the degree

of rejection may vary from one society to the next, the general experience is that it occurs more in societies where new forms of technology do not readily fit into the local patterns and institutions to which people are already accustomed (Foster, 1962).

Innovations which on balance may appear quite rational to the foreign change agent and even to domestic leaders and other local elites, may be perceived quite differently by the rest of the local community who may not comprehend the fact that these are matters of purely technical nature. When viewed from this latter perspective, such innovations may seem quite threatening to certain local interests, familiar patterns of life and entrenched habits (Sibley, 1961; Straus, 1953; Foster, 1962).

In order to curb down the tendency of rejection, Esman's conceptual scheme, therefore, proposes and advocates the creation or the reconstitution of institutions so as to enable them to serve as vehicles for transmitting such new ideas and the promotion of concrete change efforts.

From this point of view, institutions are perceived as a key factor in the transfer of technology or the change-inducement process in general. Establishing effective organizations, therefore, becomes a primary condition for the introduction of innovations. Such organizations according to Esman must aim at fulfilling the following important requirements. First, they must build up and improve upon their technical capacities so as to command adequate ability in

delivering the necessary services to society at an increasing level of competence. Second, the professionals or staff within the organization must, as a matter of practical necessity, possess or develop the appropriate kinds of attitudes and orientations commensurate with organizational objectives. They need to exhibit a sense of normative commitment in terms of sharing the ideas, aspirations and goals for which the organization stands. The absence of such values among staff constitutes one key factor that can mitigate against the proper socialization or the indoctrination of the most important outcomes or products of the system. A third requirement is the maintenance of adequate links between the organization and the environment. An institution needs to maintain such links and above all, a positive environmental image for several reasons: (a) for the gaining of financial and other types of support, (b) in order to have its products generally accepted, (c) so as to carry on with its activities without obstructions or hinderances, (d) to be defended in times of attack and criticisms, and finally, (e) so as to have relative influence over the decision-making process in its functional area. The effectiveness of an organization, according to Esman, is therefore perceived as a function of the extent to which the above criteria are met and observed.

In the conceptual scheme, an organization is characterized as being an aggregate of the following significant factors: (a) leadership, (b) doctrine, (c) program, (d) resources, and (e) internal structure. These factors are termed as "organizational variables

or clusters of institutional variables." Esman further suggests that the ties linking the innovating organization to the environment or society be termed as "linkages," while the various exchanges between the actors within and between organizations be called "transactions." These linkages consist of essentially four types, viz: (i) enabling, (ii) functional, (iii) normative, and (iv) diffuse. Linkages and transactions are important for an organization in the sense that for it to function or carry on with its tasks, or enter into any kinds of transactions with the environment, there needs to exist a channel of communication, 'a stepping-stone' or some means of contact, etc. For this reason, they are regarded as being vital to institutional survival.

The final and the most important concept that has also been considered in the conceptual scheme is the factor of "institutionality," or the end state of the institution building process. As already defined in Chapter I, it is an evaluative variable which is not only helpful in measuring the degree and extent to which an organization has become institutionalized in its setting, but also a useful concept for determining organizational strengths and weaknesses.

In presenting the conceptual scheme, the point is further emphasized that organizations can only function or perform their tasks efficiently and effectively when these variables and linkages are properly manipulated and controlled. Since all are not of equal strength or significance, the point is made again that the

extent to which change is induced in any given environment depends on how well these factors are treated and dealt with either separately or together.

To fully appreciate the relevance and utility of these conceptual variables in the effective functioning of an institution or organization, a more detailed analysis and critique of each may provide further clarity and understanding, especially with respect to their roles.

Leadership. As perceived in the conceptual scheme, leadership is critical, and possibly the most important attribute of an organization. As defined by Esman (1967), it is

> the social group of persons actively engaged in the formulation of doctrine and program of the institution and who direct its operations and relationships with the environment (p. 3).

He goes on to say that it is considered to be the single most critical element in institution building because deliberately induced change requires intensive, skillful and highly committed management, both of internal and of environmental relationships. Leadership is considered primarily as a group process in which roles such as representation, decision-making and operational control can be distributed in a variety of patterns among the leadership group--the group being those who hold formal leadership positions as well as those who exercise important continuing influence over the institution's activities.

Esman's conception of the term seems to be well supported by other writers. For Hanson (1968), leadership refers "to persons who formulated the doctrine and program of the University and its College of Education, who directed their operations, and who were by virtue of Office responsible for establishing relationships with the environment" (p. 147). Blaise (1964), in his usage of the term, appears to be more succinct and comprehensive. He identifies certain elements which he suggests should be the determinants of the value of leadership. According to him, leadership implies the possession of Status (i.e., power and influence) which should enable an individual to influence the course of events in both his own functional area as well as the environment at large. Furthermore, leaders should be functionally competent and motivated--criteria which are important for goal attainment. He goes on to add that leaders should have the ability and willingness to distribute roles within the system or share power with others--a requirement that is essential for reducing or resolving organizational conflict. He makes the emphasis that without continuity in the leadership group, there is likely to be certain changes in values and approaches which are detrimental to the consistent and systematic building of an institution. The absence of such continuity, he observes, "hampers the development of the necessary competences and their application to a given situation" (pp. 196-199).

Doctrine. Doctrine, the second variable, is defined by Esman (1966) as the "specification of values, objectives and operational methods underlying social action" (pp. 3-4). Elsewhere, he talks of it as "the expression of the institution's major purposes, objectives and methods of operations" (1969, p. 22). The relevance of doctrine or "ideology," as de Carvalho (1968) styles it, rests in the fact that it provides a definite sense of direction. That the term "doctrine" is somewhat confusing is evident from what some writers perceive it to be. Hill et al (1973), for example, regard it as abstract in nature, and hence difficult to define. According to them,

> some of the recent literature on institution building has used the term 'doctrine' instead of 'mission' or 'objectives.' At first we were tempted to avoid this term as less familiar and more ambiguous than the alternative terms which have become well established in the literature on administration, particularly on business policy. On second thought, however, it appeared to us that 'doctrine' is a useful concept; it goes beyond the broad objectives which normally are short statements of the major goals to be sought. The doctrine takes the objectives and converts them into a more concrete set of policies and guidelines which give definite direction for the institution's activities (p. 2, 11-12).

Difficulties of definition, or rather different uses of the term, are reflected in what de Carvalho (1968) and Montgomery (n.d.) each say about it. The former says, " . . . doctrine is closely associated with autonomy in the sense that doctrine may also mean rules and values which are built in the organization in such a way as to justify its functions and existence" (p. 32). According to the latter, it

is "the self-propelling, self-renewing system that gives an organization its life line . . . ." (p. 28).

These inconsistencies to some extent are removed by Hanson (1968) in his attempts to analyze the role and functions of doctrine as used in his study of a Nigerian University as follows:

> It was the function of doctrine to establish normative linkages between the old and the new, between establishment and innovators, such as would legitimize innovations which came with the new organization. (Doctrine) could (only) provide connections which made organizational innovations less new, less threatening, and correspondingly more legitimate . . . . It could also provide University leaders with norms or standards which could guide them (in) projecting programs, establishing priorities, and assessing accomplishments. It could provide a sense of solidarity and progress so important to morale" (p. 99).

Program. Program refers to those "actions which are related to the performance of functions and services constituting the output of the institution" (Esman, 1967, pp. 3-7). A much clearer definition is offered by Uphoff and Illchman (n.d.). For these writers, it represents

> the translation of doctrine into practical activities of organization. Given the scarcity of resources, a program represents a statement of priorities or a sequence of resource allocations judged to be most productive for attaining organizational goals" (p. 16).

Resources. Resources are defined as "the physical, human and technological inputs of the institution. Their availability to innovative organization is at the crux of our studies, as is the

identification of the actual and alternative sources of these resource flows, and changes in them" (Nehnevajsa, n.d., p. 5).

A much more elaborate definition is provided by Gautam et al (1970) as follows:

> (Resources are) the inputs of the organization that are converted into products or services and into increased institutional capability. It includes not only financial resources that can be used for construction of physical plant, equipment and facilities and employment of personnel services, but also such intangibles as legal and political authority and information about technologies and the external environment (p. 3).

Blaise (1964) states that the resource variable has two dimensions, viz: (a) resource availability, and (b) sources. He defines the first one as "the physical and human inputs which are available or can be obtained for the functioning of the institution and the performance of its program." The second dimension of sources is referred to as "the sources in the environment from which resources have been obtained and alternative sources to which the institution has access" (p. 206). The sources and the ability of an organization to obtain resources are both important because they affect decisions that have something to do with programs, doctrine and leadership.

Internal Structure. According to Thompson (1971), internal structure is the "organization of resources into formal and informal patterns of authority, division of responsibility among the different units of the organization, channels of communication, and means of resolving differences and formulating consensus on priorities, policies and

procedures" (p. 145). Blaise (1964) states that it should be regarded as "mechanisms and modes of control, communication and decision making within the institution" (pp. 107-108). According to him, the structure of the institution, i.e., the different roles within the system in addition to authority and decision making do have an effect on program performance and the manner in which the system is maintained. Similarly, the communication processes within the institution also affect the way in which its participants identify with it. For example, if the process of passing on information is often circumvented (i.e., transmitted through the grapevine and other means), or reserved only for cronies and members of an 'in group,' it is certain that other participants of the system will feel alienated and powerless. In situations of this kind, frustration and a sense of hostility towards the established order or leadership will be bred and nurtured to the extent of highly reducing the sense of belonging and commitment to the institution on the part of those so alienated.

Accordingly, Blaise (1964) then concludes that the internal structure of an organization is indeed a significant factor of institution building in at least the following four areas: (i) program performance, (ii) system maintenance, (iii) identification of the participants with the institution, and (iv) relationships with the environment.

The above institutional variables according to Esman et al

(1967) are the most significant features of an organization from the viewpoint of its ability to operate efficiently. The extent to which an institution is capable of achieving its goals is not dependent on any one factor alone. Effective outcomes are obtainable if all the different factors involved are collectively managed as an integral part of a system or network of events. For instance, adequate resources in the absence of effective leadership and/or program cannot lead to the attainment of desired goals. On the other hand, a well defined program without the necessary financial resources cannot be implemented.

Linkages. The conceptual model also suggests that as part of the overall framework of inducing change, certain linkages need to be established between the organization and the environment in which it operates. These linkages according to Esman et al (1967) are "interdependencies (that) exist between the institution and other relevant parts of society" (p. 5). Other writers describe the phenomenon as "exchange relationships between the institution and society" (Uphoff and Illchman, n.d., p. 2). Linkages derive their significance from the fact that they serve or regulate the behavior pattern of the organization in the same way that a human fetus is kept alive through the umbilical cord and blood vessels connecting it to the womb of its parent. The model classifies linkages into basically four types, viz: (i) enabling, (ii) functional, (iii) normative, and (iv) diffuse.

Enabling linkages. Enabling linkages are described as those relationships with organizations and social groups which control the allocation of authority and resources needed by the institution to function. There are several ways through which such relationships can be developed by the institution. The first is to identify with well established themes, symbols and slogans of society or of its environment so that it can be accorded maximum legitimacy. The second is to use the proper channels such as the legislature, elected representatives, appropriate government officials, community leaders, etc., to seek the financial support that is necessary for its upkeep. Third, it may send its own representative(s) to lobby around for support in various bodies, both national and international. And lastly, it can make very effective use of the mass media by "advertising" itself and programs through press releases, radio and television talk shows to stimulate interest in its activities among members of the public, etc.

Functional linkages. These are relationships "with those organizations performing functions and services which are complementary in a production sense, which supply the inputs and which use the outputs of the institution" (Esman, 1967, p. 5). In other words, these are relationships between the institution and those bodies that supply it with certain inputs (e.g., students) and at the same time are beneficiaries of the training that has been given such students.

Normative linkages. These relate to the links that are created with other bodies by way of incorporating certain positive or negative norms and values that are relevant to the doctrine and program of the institution. The relationships that are built by the institution with civic and church leaders, elected officials, important personalities by way of inviting them to make presentations on important occasions at the institution, can also be described as normative linkages.

Diffuse linkages. These refer to what Esman describes as relationships with "elements in the society which cannot clearly be identified by membership in formal organizations" (1967, p. 5).

The concept of linkages appears to be quite useful in the institution building scheme because it disaggregates the structures external to the environment into patterns of relationships and tries to show how each can be analytically and operationally manipulated for the purpose of achieving end objectives.

Transactions. Another category of concepts that is subsidiary to the linkage factor are transactions. The linkage variable essentially deals with relationships between the target institution and other organizations. But transactions are the contacts and exchanges at the interpersonal level between and among individuals representing the main organization on the one hand, and the linkage institution on the other. Transactions serve at least four functions: (i) they strengthen or create bases of support for the

institution and its program; (ii) they acquire resources for operation; (iii) they seek to bring changes in other organizations which enhance the chances of the institution in achieving its objectives; and (iv) they seek to transfer values and norms of the institution to other institutions (Mann, 1975, p. 137). Siffin (1967) has attempted to explain what transactions mean as follows:

> It is possible to conceive the entire process of organization--environment relations in terms of transactions--(i.e., exchanges of goods and services, and of power and influence). From an organizational viewpoint, transactions are the relational activities through which resources and mandates are procured and purposes are pursued. Transactions are the substance of an entity's linkages with its environment; they may lead to organizational growth or attenuation; and they shape as well as manifest institutional qualities (p. 266).

That transactions are important is a fact that leaves no room for doubt in the minds of some writers. Suttmeier (1972) underscores their importance by stating as follows:

> Because the basic purpose of the institution is to induce change in its environment, linkages and transactions take on a particular importance, and indeed the conscious attention given to this thrust towards the environment has given the institution building perspective a distinctive appeal (p. 10).

Institutionality. The issue as to when an institution building process has been completed or become 'matured' is also an important question to which the conceptual framework addresses itself. Several scholars have described or defined this end product of the institution building process in various ways. Huntington (1965),

a Political Scientist, defines it as "the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability" (p. 12). On the other hand, Loomis (1969), a sociologist, describes it as "the process through which human behavior is made predictable and patterned" (p. 182).

By far, a much better and clearer description is given by Derge et al (1968). For these writers, institutionalization or institutionality is the "locking in of the organization into its environment . . . as the outputs come to have perceived instrumental value by clientele groups in the environment and/or as the organization acquires intrinsic value vis-a-vis clientele groups, it is becoming institutionalized in the environment" (p. 4).

Four tests have been suggested by Esman (1972) as meeting the requirement of institutionality. The first is related to the organization's ability to survive. While survival may be an important criterion, it is not necessarily a sufficient condition for institutionalization. An institution may manage to <u>survive</u> even in a hostile environment, but it may not be serving the interests for which it was created. This often happens especially in cases where the proprietors have made too many compromises with the environment.

The second test concerns the need for the organization to be recognized and cherished by its environment as being of <u>intrinsic value</u>. This can be measured in terms of the independence it has in developing its programs, the lack of interference with its own

internal management, the ability to acquire resources directly, and the influence it is able to exert on the external environment.

The third test is the spread effect of its activities. This concerns the extent to which it has become a model to other organizations with which it deals. Do others, for example, copy some of its values and action patterns as being of worth?

The fourth test concerns the extent to which the organization is capable of maintaining its innovative thrust. Duncan and Pooler (1967) describe this as the ability to continue to innovate or introduce new changes. To what extent can this be done without destroying the survival tactics of the organization?

Some Underlying Assumptions of the Model

In the conceptualization of the institution building model, certain assumptions about environment, organization and change processes have been made (Esman, 1972, pp. 68-71).

Environment is essentially conceptualized neither as being static nor a vacuum, but as an ongoing pattern of relationships in which all its participants, groups and organizations within it are actively engaged in many activities for the purpose of promoting and protecting their own interests. Organizations within it must be in a position to meet certain needs of the environment, whether latent or manifest; and furthermore, they should expect and be able to identify hostilities or the tendency to resist change. If

viewed from such a dynamic perspective, certain problems which often arise in the course of inducing planned change will be minimized.

About organization, the model assumes that formal organizations are capable of socializing those who come within the sphere of their norms and action patterns, so long as the duration is long enough and the main reason for coming close is to be socialized. In this manner, organizations can become the dynamic vehicles through which change agents impress their values on those around them.

The change processes aspect of the model implies that changes as will occur are not spontaneous, but planned and guided. Such changes do not take place by diffusion but by inducement and management. The model further assumes that three main types of change are involved in the process, viz: technological, cultural and political. The technological type is based on new practices or services to induce fresh action patterns. The political relies on the distribution of power, the manipulation of resources, redefining rewards or the use of influence to produce behavioral change. The cultural is focused on the need to change individual and group values and attitudes. The extent to which these three change processes are combined and used depends on the specific needs, situation or requirement.

With regards to the model as a whole, Esman (1972) concludes by stating the following:

> A change producing and a change protecting organization, transacting in a mutual influence network with

> linked structures in its environment, has proved to be a useful way of visualizing the process of induced or guided change, and is flexible enough to apply to a wide variety of structures and circumstances. I am confident that it can be equally useful in industrialized, as in developing countries where social change is the objective" (p. 74).

Weaknesses and Strengths of the Model

The conceptual framework as presented and analyzed above raises a number of issues which, if examined more critically, will reveal certain inherent weaknesses and problems of applicability. While there is general consensus among scholars and researchers interested in institution building regarding its usefulness, particularly from the viewpoint of its ability to explain the systemic behavior of organizations, there still remains a number of questions which need to be answered more clearly.

Criticisms of conceptual model. Among the several problems that this model poses is the fundamental issue or the basic lack of a definition as to what an "institution" is. Nowhere in the literature does one find a common definition or consensus use of the word. If the institution building process regards institutions as the key vehicles through which guided change is induced, there is need to say exactly what an "institution" is. This lack of a clear and consistent use of the word has tended to give rise to the kind of confusion that has been observed by Etzioni (1964) when he says, "this term has probably caused more confusion than formal organization and bureaucracy

together. All three might well be avoided in favor of the simple term organization" (p. 3).

Siffin (1972) appears to be essentially posing the same type of question when he says, "The IB perspective takes as its problem, 'How to build an institution." So it must answer the question: 'What is an institution'?" (p. 134).

That the conceptual connotation of the term needs to be further clarified is evident from what Esman (1972) himself has noted:

> One of the minor and as yet unresolved problems in institution building theory is to outline the boundaries of the concept of 'institution.' While it must be a formal organization, it encompasses neither a whole sector of activity nor a constituent unit which is totally dependent on a parent organization (p. 89).

This does raise a question as to whether or not one can have an institution within an institution. Is the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts an institution within the University? What are the boundaries of an institution? Where can the line be drawn?

Duncan and Pooler (1972) to some extent have attempted to offer a rational explanation by suggesting that institutions are "specific formal organizations which over time have developed a capacity to act as agents for the larger society by providing valued functions and services . . . they serve as models for defining legitimate normative and value patterns, conserving and protecting them for a larger society" (in Eaton, 1972, p. 183). Though explicit, this view of

what an institution is still leaves one with some questions to be answered. Over what period does an organization take to develop the required capacity to become an institution? Does an institution need to have existed for 'some time' before actually becoming valued or performing a useful service? These are some issues in the institution building model that need further clarity and refinement.

A second problem that has posed further difficulties is the issue of transferability, as seen in the model's orientation for use in technical assistance programs. The model's discussants have insisted that, although they are utilizing a general blueprint of an organization derived from an industrial western type administration, any application of it is very much dependent upon a specific socio-political context.

It would appear that such a generalization is problematic for some writers who feel that the vast inputs of money and personnel necessary raises the question as to whether this particular blueprint is necessary or desirable in all situations to which the institution building model can be applied. Hatfield, for example, questions whether the U.S. Land Grant College is the sole model for the implementation of goals in agricultural development. Are there any other 'rational' models which can be adopted without the need to incur huge expenditures, and furthermore, which may be helpful in avoiding its elitist character?

What seems to be of paramount concern is for the institution to

adapt itself in order to fulfill the needs for which it was created; utilizing whatever strategies that appear most suitable in finding solutions to client problems.

A third problem that arises is the omission of other important categories of institutions. Herendeen criticizes the fact that the model has not taken account of corporations (both private and state) in developing countries even though they constitute a very important factor in development. In emphasizing this fact, he goes on to say the following:

> The corporate enterprise (public or private) not only is valued by society, but also has had a substantial impact in shaping society's values. It is certainly an institution of great social significance in developed economies, and it is bound to play an important role in developing ones (1974, p. 935).

While there is ample justification in his criticism, what should however be noted is the fact that Esman and his research colleagues are dealing or are basically concerned with only one category of institutions--the educational type. Being a generic model, the institution building conceptual scheme does not negate the usefulness or relevance of corporations.

A fourth criticism raised is that the model is inadequate for explaining certain phenomena because it is not a theory, but a heurism. According to Siffin (1972), the institution building perspective cannot be properly labelled a theory but a heuristic device from the most rigorous point of view. While there is no ready consensus among social scientists with regards to the

definition of what a theory is, the general view, however, that seems to prevail is that it is an empirical generalization, or what Siffin more aptly describes as "a general statement about some regular predictable relationships between two or more types of things" (1972, p. 118).

Siffin goes on to argue that the conceptual model can best be described as a heuristic device or 'speculative theory' because it lacks the properties of a theory as defined above. The model for him represents the kind of intellectual gadget that can be used to generate useful concepts, manageable hypotheses and interesting questions. He takes the strong position that the institution building perspective at this stage of its development has only an 'explanatory appeal' but not explanatory force. He drives home the point by commenting as follows:

> Practical models can be real bastards. This does not necessarily make them bad, but it can make them tricky things to use. Even in an age that does not subscribe to guilt by ancestry, it is important to know the real qualities of our tools--because of the effects they can have (1972, p. 49).

And, finally, a fifth issue also noted by him has to do with the applicability of the institution building strategy. He points out the fact that the model does not specify the circumstances under which it is likely to be the most appropriate strategy. All it does is to state that organizations are the vehicles through which men seek to effect change, even though from experience, there are examples of cases where organizations are known to have effects more perverse

than constructive on the situations they are intended to remedy. For this reason, it is important for the strategy to state the specific cases and conditions under which it is most appropriate to operate.

He, nevertheless, finds the perspective useful as a model for practitioners because, according to him, it names the phenomenon to be dealt with, as in the case of how leadership works, what doctrine is, and especially the need for linkages. But if it is to be more useful, the circumstances of its relevance or at least its irrelevance must be specified.

Merits of conceptual model. In spite of the various criticisms which have been levied against the model, there is consensus among researchers and scholars of institution building methodology that it is a useful method of inducing change. Smuckler (1972), for example, notes that while waiting for results from further analytical research, practitioners in the meantime have found the concepts useful as a checklist of topics to cover in periodic reviews of institutional and technical assistance performance, and for intra-project policy planning and reassessment.

Blase (1975 in Mann) observes that the framework is merely an approach, or a means to an end, and not an end in itself. He finds it worthwhile in that it provides insights into improved methods of project planning and implementation. He suggests that the important question to which the model may address itself is how project plans can be formulated with its assistance.

As Lang (1973) also points out, the model is valuable not because it provides answers, but because it helps in asking questions about the environment in which any change program takes place.

Finally, perhaps the most affirmative and supportive view to the effect that the model is valuable and relevant as a yardstick for judging or assessing institution building projects is the conclusion reached by Hanson, who as a technical assistance practitioner, spent several years in Nigeria, helping to build what is now the University of Nigeria at Nsukka. He says,

> If I were to attempt any amateurish assessment of the usefulness of the conceptual framework of analyzing institution building overall, I would point out that even in its current rough shape, the scheme provides a series of lenses with which to examine a phenomenon. Many I found in particularly sharp focus, albeit crudely ground and still unpolished (1968).

C H A P T E R III

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This chapter focuses on the overall research design, methodology, choice of respondents, instrumentation (questionnaire development), and data collection procedures.

Methodology

The method or approach adopted for the collection and analysis of data in this study is that which is often employed in case study research (Stake, 1978). A case study according to Denny (1978) is "an intensive or complete examination of a facet, an issue, or perhaps the events of a geographic setting over time." Stake (1978) suggests that "the case need not be a person or enterprise" (p. 2). It can be what Louis Smith (1978) has termed a 'bounded system' or what is of interest to the writer or community at large. One example of such a system can be an institution, a program, a population, etc.

For MacDonald and Walker (1977), a case study is an "examination of an instance in action" (p. 181). Guba et al (1981) have added a series of other descriptive definitions which according to them are not very rigorous but sometimes used. These include "a snapshot of reality," "a slice of life," "a microcosm," "an episode," "an action unit," "a depth of examination of instance," and "the intensive examination of a unit" (p. 371).

They further suggest that many different forms of writing have

been labelled 'case studies,' as in the case of the following examples: developmental histories of individuals, agencies or organizations of social work, banks, university departments, certain social movements, projects like in the case of schools, colleges, institutions and a host of other types of events and situations.

While taking cognizance of the fact that the range of information that can be included in a case study may vary from "a few test scores for an individual to volumes of demographic, social, industrial and cultural information for an entire society," they nevertheless make an important note with regards to the components of such a study. The contents according to them are determined chiefly by its purpose which has the main objective of revealing the properties of the class to which the instance being studied belongs. They identify four classes of purposes which seem to be common to most case ctudies. These are (a) to chronicle or develop a register of facts or events in the order in which they happened, (b) to render or depict or characterize, (c) to teach or provide with knowledge or to instruct, and (d) to test or to prove.

In the particular case of this study, the purpose as outlined in Chapter I has been to explore, interpret and evaluate a bounded system which over time has developed certain patterns and characteristics, and is said to affect its products in both positive and negative ways. This is why subsequently in Chapter IV, efforts are made to garner and explain information that will enable the reader not only to understand the facts of the case, but also the rationale for certain occurrences, happenings and outcomes.

This format for marshalling evidence and information to explicate the institution building process of PAID/WA was considered most suitable and relevant because it provided a logical pattern and sequence of steps within which to comprehend, as well as to clarify issues and concerns pertinent to the formative process of the Institute. As a case study, the research could not be reduced to a series of rules such as those that guide the writing of a report of a biological or chemical experiment. The approach adopted here, made it possible to select the most appropriate research methodologies that would permit the collection of the full range of data needed in the study, using both qualitative and quantitative techniques.

Since the main purpose of the study was to determine and assess the strengths and weaknesses of the institution building efforts of PAID/WA, it was considered most suitable to adopt a formative evaluation approach following the methods introduced and recommended by Scriven (1967). In discussing the evaluation of educational curricula, Scriven distinguished between what he labelled as summative and formative evaluation. In the case of the former, the primary purpose is to make an overall judgement about the effectiveness of a program, while the latter type is aimed at collecting information that can be used primarily for on-going program development and improvement. In other words, formative evaluations are conducted for the purpose of improving programs in contrast to those evaluations which are done for the purpose of making basic decisions about whether or not the program is effective, and whether or not the program should be continued or

terminated (Patton, 1980).

Extending on the writing of Scriven, Sanders and Cunningham (1973) further explained what the formative approach means as it applies to the product development process. According to them

> Formative evaluation (is) defined as the process of judging an entity, or its components, that would be revised in form, for the expressed purpose of providing feedback to persons directly involved in the formation of the entity (1974, p. 1).

The original use of the term by Scriven (1967) specifically referred to the gathering of information to improve curriculum products in education. Over the years, the formative-summative distinction has since come to be used and applied more broadly as a fundamental evaluation typology (Patton, 1980).

In discussing the role of formative evaluators in the development of educational programs, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon (1978) suggest that

> the key to an effective formative evaluation is good communication. Information about where the program is, or is not working needs to be timely and clearly presented (p. 66).

Such formative evaluations usually focus on the processes of the settings being studied. According to Patton (1980), process evaluation has the specific aim of elucidating and understanding the internal dynamics of program operations. They ask or pose essentially the same or similar kinds of questions raised in the purpose statement in Chapter I of this study.

He further explains that the 'process' focus implies an emphasis on looking at <u>how</u> a product or an outcome is produced rather than

looking at the product itself. In other words, it is an analysis of the processes whereby a program produces the results it does. It is the kind of evaluation which is "descriptive, developmental, continuous, inductive and flexible." Furthermore, in such evaluations

> the process evaluator searches for explanations of the success, failures and changes in a program..... (He) sets out to understand and document the day to day reality of the setting under study.....and tries to unravel what is actually happening in a program in a search for major patterns and important nuisance that give the program its character. A process evaluation requires sensitivity to both qualitative and quantitative changes in programs throughout their development; it means becoming intimately acquainted with the details of the program. Process evaluations look not only at formal activities and anticipated outcomes, but they also investigate informal patterns and unanticipated consequences in the full context of program implementation and development. (They also usually) include perceptions of people close to the program about how things are going. A variety of perspectives may be sought from people with dissimilar relationships to the program - inside and outside sources (Patton, 1980, p.60-61).

In gathering data for such process evaluations, Sanders and Cunningham (1978) suggest among other strategies the inclusion of qualitative methods. According to them, such methods are necessary because they provide the opportunity to gather descriptive and evaluative information which is very basic to understanding the entity being appraised. "The intent of collecting descriptive information is to describe fully and completely what is, not what should be. A comprehensive characterization of what is, will aid greatly in making judgement and in determining where to revise once some deficit is identified" (Sanders and Cunningham, 1974, p.23).

Commenting on the utility of qualitative methods in formative evaluation, Provus (1971), the originator of the 'Discrepancy Model' emphasized and recommended the use of the formative type in the early stages of a program's development. He opposes the antiseptic assumption of laboratory research which tends to allow the use of comparisons between two or more unlike events and situations, like in the example of comparing children receiving new program assistance with those not receiving such aid. He goes on to say

> An evaluation design that begins with an experimental design denies to program staff what it needs most: information that can be used to make judgements about the program while it is in dynamic stages of growth.....Evaluations must provide administrators and program staff with the information they need and the freedom to act on that information (1971, p. 11).

Elsewhere, other writers such as Filstead (1979) take the supportive view that qualitative methodology has a decidely human cast in understanding social reality of the idealist position which stresses an evolving negotiated view of the social order. According to him, this approach perceives social life as the shared creativity of individuals, who are conceptualized as active agents in constructing and making sense of the realities they encounter rather than responding in a robot like fashion according to role expectations established by social structures.

Furthermore, the social world is not regarded as fixed or static but shifting, changing and dynamic. There are no clear cut response sets to situations. Instead, agreed upon patterns of interaction

emerge through negotiated and interpretative process. This point of view attaches importance to the understanding of human situations from the perspective of those involved in it than from other angles. As Douglas (1970) has pointed out

> Any scientific understanding of human action, at whatever level of ordering or generality must begin with and be built upon an understanding of the everyday life of the members performing those actions. To fail to see this and to act in accord with it is to commit what we might call the fallacy of believing that you can know in a more abstract form what you do not know in a particular form (p. 11).

Therefore, for the purpose of selecting an appropriate inquiry strategy for this study, it became apparent from the research questions that qualitative methods were not only the best means of generating most needed information about the regular occurences at PAID/WA, but also the most suitable methodological approach for addressing the issues raised by the problem statement in Chapter I. Notwithstanding the appropriateness of this approach for gathering required data, it also became quite clear from certain aspects of the study, particularly those dealing with the one year training program of the college that quantitative techniques had to be employed in order to acquire information which could only be obtained by means of mail questionnaires. Even if this method seemed to have certain limitations because too many questions could not be asked nor probes made, it has nevertheless proven to be extremely valuable, because it has in many ways augmented information collected through qualitative techniques. Furthermore, it has contributed significantly to deepening one's understanding with

respect to how the products of the system perceive the processes through which they have gone and the institution as a whole.

Adopting both approaches has thus provided the advantage of collecting necessary information using, basically, techniques that have been most appropriate in the situation. As Reichardt and Cook (1979) have pointed out, "a researcher need not adhere blindly to one of the polar extreme paradigms that have been labelled qualitative and quantitative, but can freely choose a mix of attributes from both paradigms so as to best fit the demands of the research problem at hand." Combining methodologies in this way is what has been described as triangulation, and it is based on the rationale that multiple methods of observation and collecting data does contribute to methodological rigor (Patton, 1980). Denzin further explains the premise on which it is based as follows:

> No single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors.....Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observation must be employed (1978, p. 28).

Other writers also point out that such methodological mix is an important research technique because it provides the means and opportunity for establishing structural corroboration by way of forcing the researcher to situationally check the validity of his causal propositions (Trend, 1978; Ianni and Orr, 1979; Sieber, 1973).

Webb and others (1966) conclude that even though triangulation is not an easy task, it is one worth considering where it is needed because it gives credibility to data and findings. They go on to say

> Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes. If a proposition can survive the onslaught of a series of imperfect measures, with all their relevant error confidence should be placed in it (p. 3).

These then were some of the most important reasons that contributed to selecting strategies that were considered to be most relevant to the investigation; and which in fact, have aided this researcher in the process of data gathering.

Another methodological issue that was given serious consideration was the question of choosing an evaluation model that would be most compatible with qualitative methods (the main approach of collecting information), and one that would provide the best possible framework for carrying out the study.

Among recent efforts in conceptualizing evaluation models, House (1978) has possibly developed the most comprehensive taxonomy of the major paradigms known to evaluators. Eight models have been identified by him as follows: (1) systems analysis, (2) art criticism, (3) behavioural objectives, (4) accreditation, (5) adversary, (6) goal free, (7) decision making, and (8) transaction. Patton (1980) has observed that only the last three among the above eight have been judged to be compatible with qualitative methods. For the purpose of this study, this researcher found the transaction model and its variant, the 'illuminative evaluation' approach of Parlett and Hamilton (1976), to provide the most appropriate framework within which to evaluate the

strengths and weaknesses of PAID/WA.

As described by House (1978), the transaction model "concentrates on the educational (or program) processes themselves . . . . It uses various informal methods of investigation and has been drawn increasingly to the case study as the major methodology" (p. 5). According to Patton (1980), this model tends to treat each case as being unique, and places prime emphasis on perception and knowing as a transactional process. House (1978) elaborates on this point by stating that

> One can study perceptions only by studying particular transactions in which the perceptions can be observed. All parts of the situation enter into the transaction as 'active particpants' and do not appear as separate already existing entities . . . . (The evaluator) affects and is affected by the situation, thus he is part of the transaction (p. 9).

In studying such transactions, Parlett and Hamilton's (1976) 'illuminative approach' appeared to offer the best possible complementary framework for ordering data because the model takes into account the wider context in which educational programs occur and function. As explained by its authors:

> Its primary concern is with description and interpretation rather than measurement and prediction. It stands unambiguously within the alternative anthropological paradigm. (Its) aim is to study the innovatory program: how it operates, how it is influenced by the various school situations in which it is applied; what those directly concerned regard as its advantages and disadvantages; and how students intellectual tasks and academic experiences are most affected. It aims to discover and document what it is like to be participating in the scheme, whether as

> teacher or pupil, and, in addition, to discern and discuss the innovation's most significant feature, recurring concomitants, and critical processes. In short it seeks to address and to illuminate a complex array of questions (Parlett and Hamilton, 1976, p. 144).

Adopting Parlett and Hamilton's approach in answering the research questions, allowed this researcher to conduct interviews; ask questions and probe into issues of interest and concern in a naturalistic and inductive manner, within the framework of the categories of institutional variables and linkages proposed in Esman's (1966) conceptual paradigm. Even though certain guiding questions were used in interviews, these were framed in a manner that stopped short of imposing pre-existing expectations on the study setting. The particular advantage of this approach was that it helped one to focus not only on the gross similarities of the situation under investigation, but also on the subtle differences which could have otherwise been overlooked.

Data Gathering Procedures

In the process of collecting information for this study, several methods were used as follows, (a) participant observation, (b) interviews - both formal and informal, (c) documents and records, and (d) mail questionnaires.

By far the most substantial amount of information collected for this study has been through this researcher's role as a participant observer. Though he has been on the staff of PAID/WA since 1972, systematic observation of events at the Institute did not actually begin

until 1977 after a meeting of African government representatives on PAID/WA had recommended that steps be taken to evaluate the Institute's training activities with the view of making changes where necessary (DSC, 1977). The experience gained through direct participation and involvement in the Institute's activities as a member of senior staff before and after 1977, has provided the unique opportunity not only to record events and behaviour as they occur, but has also enhanced the observer's ability to fully comprehend the various exchanges and processes within the institution. Douglas (1976) makes the point that in every day life, people use various tests of truth, but that the most important of these tests is direct experience.

The absence of direct experience in the process of collecting data of the kind required in this study could have been virtually impossible to garner, if this researcher's role as participant observer had diminished. PAID, as will be discussed in Chapter IV, is indeed a complex and unique institution. The manner in which it developed, those who helped establish it, its sources of resources and its structural characteristics all combine to render it rather difficult for someone not closely or intimately associated with it to fully understand its internal dynamics and processes.

It would have been impossible for an 'outsider' to understand the informal exchange between members of the Institute, among students and staff; the different patterns of the behaviour of individuals; the non-verbal cues; attitudes and reactions towards events expecially those connected to crisis and a host of other situations. Without

the opportunity for this researcher to be directly involved in these activities, data for this study could have been very superficial, thereby rendering the experience fairly shallow if not worthless.

The necessity to give serious consideration to the experience of a researcher, as in the case of this study, has been emphasized by Riemer (1977) when he contends that too frequently, researchers neglect "at hand" knowledge and expertise they alone possess in the engineering of their research ventures. He goes on to say that quite often, researchers treat as ancillary their own biographies, life experiences and situational familarity when these could opportunistically serve as important sources for research ideas and data. It is then for this reason that much importance is attached to the gathering of information for this study through participation and observation.

Interviews. To supplement data collected through the process described above, formal and informal interviews were also conducted with selected individuals inside and outside of PAID. At the upper level, indepth interviews were held with two members of the organization outside PAID/WA, whose long service and knowledge of the Institute as a whole, made it possible to provide detailed information as well as clarity on certain issues and events that appear to have had significant effects or consequences on the development of PAID/WA. Such interviews, furthermore, had the objectives of validating information and other data gathered

through observation and the numerous documents and records that were available.

At the level of PAID/WA itself, information was solicited mainly through informal discussions. In one specific case, a written submission on one important aspect of PAID/WA's institutional life was requested and received. Two junior staff with considerable length of service and knowledge about the Institute were also informally interviewed inorder to have a different perspective from that of the leadership group. While the interview guide was closely used in the case of the senior staff, the junior staff were not subjected to the kind of questions for which it was clear that they could not provide relevant information, as for example, in the case of asking them to clarify the doctrines or guiding principles of PAID.

Outside PAID/WA, interviews were also conducted with former students of the College and Cameroonian local authorities. Eight former students of PAID/WA who were not in the sample selected for the mail questionnaires were interviewed. The discussion with each of these participants centered around the training program as they perceive and participated in it. Furthermore, probes were made into other issues of general nature which close ended questionnaires could not accommodate.

In the case of the interviews with five local personalities and functionaries, the main aim was to determine at least partially, the impression of outsiders about PAID/WA and PAID as a whole or what Esman (1967) has described as Linkages. Even though similar interviews were

not conducted in the rest of West African countries that sent students to the Institute, the experience of interviewing local Cameroonians, has demonstrated the need for institutions like PAID/WA to carry out their activities in a way that will enable them to gain local support in the best possible way.

Internal documents and records. A third important source of information for this study has been the growing number of internal papers, reports, minutes of meetings, correspondence and other documents of the organization. Over the last decade, there has been so much of an accumulation of papers on the Institute mainly by its staff which, for the most part, have remained essentially virgin and unexploited. A careful analysis of these documents has provided crucial information with respect to past and future plans.

Survey. Lastly, a survey was conducted in which 200 former students were sent questionnaires by mail. The two page questionnaire covered various aspects of institutional life at PAID/WA, including the request for additional information which was considered to be of help in the future planning of the College. Even though PAID/WA has been training students from most English speaking African countries since its inception, it was considered most appropriate to limit the sending of questionnaires to former students in the West Africa region only, because this is the area where the College plans to concentrate its training and other activities in the years to come. Hence out of the

265 West Africans that had gone through the one year course on integrated rural development between 1969 and 1981, 200, as already indicated, were selected. The choosing of participants was based on simple and stratified random sampling methods, i.e., ensuring that each class and country was represented in the sample. Data from this vital source will be analyzed in Chapter V, but it seems appropriate to mention here that the majority of those former students who replied, did not only limit their responses to the 32 questions listed on the questionnaire, but went further to make additional written comments on separate sheets, which information has been found to be most useful.

Instrumentation

In obtaining data from the various sources discussed above, certain survey instruments and inquiry strategies were employed.

Qualitative interview guides. Appendix A is the interview guide that was used to obtain information from the two senior members of PAID. Selected questions from this guide especially those related to leadership, internal management and programs were used as the main instruments in the informal interviews and discussions with selected PAID/WA personnel, and the eight former students from Cameroon.

The Appendix B guide was used mainly for interviewing and conducting the informal discussions with the members of the local community in Cameroon. Schedule A was adapted from Hill et al's (1973) study, but further developed to reflect issues which were of basic concern in this study.

The use of these guides was not aimed at limiting the answers of respondents to questions posed. The main purpose was to provide a framework within which to explore issues that had relevance to the study setting. This is why in drafting the questions, efforts were made to leave them as open ended as one could possibly do. As Guba and Lincoln (1981) have pointed out, questions structured in this manner permit a free response from subjects, rather than a situation in which they are limited to certain categories of information or implied boundaries. They go on to emphasize the importance of open-ended questions by saying

> The distinguishing characteristic of open-ended questions is that they raise an issue but do not provide or suggest any structure for the respondent's reply; the respondent is given the opportunity to answer in his own terms and to respond from or create his own frame of reference (p. 177).

The researcher as instrument. Since the data gathered for this study has been mainly qualitative, it appears important to emphasize the role of this researcher as the 'major instrument' for collecting information. Guba and Lincoln (1981) have suggested the need to regard the researcher as an important instrument, because as a human being he is more likely than not to be responsive both to the environment and to the persons who occupy and create that environment; and because unlike objects, he can react, respond to cures and also provide cues.

As already mentioned, this researcher's role as a participant

observer of events at PAID/WA for a period over five years had been largely responsible for the data collected in this study, and of even more importance, is the fact that during the process of information gathering, it was possible for him as 'an instrument' to be adaptable in manipulating the interview situation, by rephrasing questions, adopting different sequences and by subtracting or adding new perspectives as the need arose. These were all functions which could not be performed by mail questionnaires or 'dormant' interview schedules. Furthermore, by being in the study setting for over a considerable length of time, he was either consciously or sub-consciously collecting data most of the time. Dexter's (1970) own experience in a similar work situation took him many years to realize that besides the normal process of collecting information, he was also unconsciously gathering data all the time by being there. According to him

> This point is a difficult one to discuss by reference to the literature because a great many, probably the majority, of scholars who ostensibly rely upon interviews or upon an informant as their chief source of data actually have a good deal of independent knowledge about the situation . . . . In (my) other writings about Congress, I sometimes appear to rely chiefly upon interviews, but in fact, I was living in Washington at the time, spent much of my 'free' time in Congressional Office, saw a good deal of Congressional Assistants and Secretaries socially, worked on other matters with several persons actively engaged in relationship with Congress (lobbying and liaison) . . . and some relevant acquaintance with

> local politics in several Congressional districts. All these factors made my analysis of interviews somewhat credible. And as I look back, interviews sometimes acquired meaning from the observation which I often made while waiting in Congressional Offices (p. 15).

This researcher's experience at PAID/WA constitutes an important factor in comprehending events at the College, but more so, it provided him the opportunity to explore a typical and idiosyncratic responses made by individuals during interviews and at other times of soliciting information. Guba and Lincoln (1981) have pointed out that in situations where data gathering is solely by means of questionnaires or other similar techniques, such responses would be lost, masked or treated as a statistical deviation. Consequently, they conclude that "the ability to encounter such responses and to utilize them for increased understanding is possible, in fact, only with human, as opposed to paper - and - pencil instruments" (p. 138).

The quantitative survey instrument. The standardized questionnaire that was administered to selected former students of PAID/WA contained elements that made it possible for them to provide information related to their biography, qualifications before entering PAID/WA, their work situation after graduating from the one year course, their attitudes towards the course they attended and other information related to sponsorship and the recognition of the Institute's diploma.

All questions with the exception of one were closed ended. Adequate consideration was given to the use of simple words and the phrasing of questions so as to avoid misunderstandings that could easily arise in the course of filling the blanks.

Furthermore, the questionnaire was intentionally kept short in order to avoid boring or overburdening the respondent. To stimulate a high rate of response, the principle of anonymity was retained. Each questionnaire was also coded in order to ease the difficulty of identifying individual cases if it became necessary at later stages.

The rating scales used for questions 19 through 32 were originially used by Hill et al (1973), but adapted for the purpose of this study because they were found to be most suitable in measuring the attitudes of ex-students towards PAID/WA's one year training course. The same format is very similar to a scale developed by an anonymous local chapter of the American Association of University Professors for the measuring of faculty morale towards institutional improvement. In keeping with the suggestion made by Shaw and Wright (1967) the authors of this scale, the phrasing of some of the items were done negatively, that is to avoid a situation in which the respondent might be unintentionally forced to see everything in positive terms when this may not actually be the case.

The Subjects

In choosing the sample size, two important factors were taken into consideration. First, in order to be representative, all English speaking West African countries from where PAID/WA has drawn its students in the past were included in the list from which stratified random samples were made. And second, the selection process was such that each graduating class between 1969 and 1981 was represented. The total number of students who have graduated from the one year course during this period is 289 (PAID/WA Directory, 1981). Table 1 shows their origin and the total number for each country between 1969 and 1981.

Table 1. Number of graduates from each country.

Country	No. of Graduates
Cameroon	91
Gambia	22
Ghana	51
Liberia	11
Nigeria	91
Sierra Leone	23
Total	289

Out of these 289 ex-students, questionnaires were mailed to 200. This

population sample was considered large enough to provide an adequate base from which responses could easily be obtained from at least a third of the total number of graduates (289). Judging from previous experience in getting former students to respond to surveys of this type, such a response rate, if attained, was considered to be quite high, given the poor and slow mailing system within Africa, and also the fact that there is usually a high rate of address changes among former students which account for reported delays and losses.

Table 2 below shows the total number of graduates from each country during the twelve year period and the sample size of participants for each country during the same period.

Table 2. Survey sample.

Country	No. of Grades.	% of Total Pop.	Sample Size
Cameroon	91	31	62
Gambia	22	8	16
Ghana	51	18	36
Liberia	11	4	8
Nigeria	91	31	62
Sierra Leone	23	8	16
Totals	289	100	200

In order to arrive at the accessible population from each country for

every academic year, the calculations were done as in the example of Cameroon for the 1969/70 year as follows:

Number of graduates from the 1969/70 class = 12

Percentage of Sample (i.e., out of 91 Cameroonians =

$$\frac{\text{No. in Class}}{\text{Total No. of Grads.}} \times \frac{100}{1} = \frac{12}{91} \times \frac{100}{1} = 13.18\%$$

Number selected from available sample for interview =

$$\frac{\text{\% of Sample}}{100} \times \frac{\text{Accessible Pop.}}{1} = \frac{13}{100} \times \frac{62}{1} = 8$$

Therefore, out of the 62 Cameroonians to whom questionnaires were mailed, eight were in the class of 1969/70. These calculations were repeated for each year and country until the total number of participants was reached.

Table 3 shows the distribution of the total number of graduates for all countries between 1969 and 1981. Column x represents the total number of students from each country for a specific class, whereas column y shows the number of students that were sent the questionnaire. Survey participants in column y were selected by method of simple random sampling without regard to sex. To do this, names for each year and country in column x were written on separate sheets of paper, then folded and placed in a deep basket. Someone blindfolded was then asked to reach in and pick out the corresponding number of names that were needed. This procedure for choosing the accessible population sample was then repeated for each year and country.

Table 3. Distribution of graduates.

Year	Cameroon		Gambia		Ghana		Liberia		Nigeria		Sierra Leone	
	x	y	x	y	x	y	x	y	x	y	x	y
1969/70	12	8	1	1	3	2	-	-	-	-	3	2
1970/71	12	8	1	1	3	2	-	-	3	2	1	1
1971/72	8	6	1	1	3	2	-	-	6	4	1	1
1972/73	10	7	2	1	4	3	-	-	9	6	2	1
1973/74	8	6	1	1	3	2	1	1	11	7	1	1
1974/75	7	5	1	1	6	4	2	1	12	8	2	1
1975/76	8	6	2	1	6	4	1	1	8	6	2	1
1976/77	8	6	2	1	7	5	3	1	7	5	2	1
1977/78	4	2	3	2	4	3	1	1	11	7	2	1
1978/79	4	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	6	4	3	2
1979/80	5	3	3	2	4	3	1	1	9	6	3	3
1980/81	5	3	3	3	5	4	1	1	9	7	1	1
Totals	91	62	22	16	51	35	11	8	91	62	23	16

The main reason for using the stratified random sampling method in selecting participants was to ensure that each year of graduating students and countries were proportionately represented. Following the selection process, questionnaires were then despatched by airmail to Ghana, Liberia, Gambia and Sierra Leone with appropriate cover letters

(Appendix D). In the case of participants from Nigeria and Cameroon, questionnaires were sent through a third party who had them posted internally in these countries. All participants except those in Cameroon were requested to forward their replies directly to this researcher's address in Amherst. In the case of Cameroon, it was requested that replies be routed through a local mailing address from which the data was forwarded to this researcher. These various moves and steps were taken to ensure a speedy return of the information.

The returns and other information pertaining to data interpretation and analysis are dealt with in Chapter V. However, before proceeding to this aspect of the study, the chapter that follows provides a synoptic perspective of how PAID and especially PAID/WA became what they are today. The primary reason for presenting such background information is to acquaint the reader with some of the more important issues and problems that have helped to shape the course of events, particularly at PAID/WA, since it was founded in the sixties.

C H A P T E R IV

AN HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS AND STRUCTURAL OVERVIEW OF THE INSTITUTION

The Historical Emergence of PAID

The founding of PAID in 1964 by a group of private individuals from Europe and Africa has variously been credited with a series of events and shortcomings that trace their origin from the difficult situation in which most African countries found themselves soon after becoming independent.

It is no secret that when European Colonial powers granted independence to their African possessions, these new nation states were faced with predicaments of various types. Besides the enormous task of welding together disparate and highly fragmented ethnic groups into integrated national entities, there were other serious problems with which the new governments had to contend. The infrastructural facilities that had been left behind were very meager and far from being satisfactory as a take off point for the new and fragile economies. In most countries not more than 20% of the total population could read or write; there were gaps between the rich and the poor, between elites and peasants, urban centres and rural areas as well as in many other spheres of national life. Above all, in many of these countries, there was only a negligible number of trained indigeneous personnel who could fill up the posts vacated by departed colonial administrators

and technicians.

Given the quagmire in which the new states then found themselves, it was very apparent to the founding fathers of PAID that unless measures were taken to train adequate numbers of development manpower, economic development would for the foreseable future remain an unteneble goal.

The early decision to concentrate on the training of middle level personnel especially those whose functions were related to rural development work and activities, was based on certain considerations which had carefully been observed at the time. Most important amongst these was the need to bridge the gap between the urban and rural populations-which up to the present time still remains a serious concern among African governments. In reflecting over the reasons and other motivating factors that led to PAID's emergence, a pioneer builder of the institution and former Secretary General, Fernand Vincent (1969) sums up the rational as follows:

> In the building that housed the workers College in Douala-Bassa, in Cameroon..... (we) were wondering about the big gap which exists in the African countries between the young staff that have returned from France capable of conceiving the development and the rural populations quite often left to themselves. It was necessary in Africa to do something in order to form (train) staff for the rural development who would be the intermediaries between the peasants and African elite. The best structure would be a school for staff created by a non-governmental organization but working in close collaboration with existing governments (p. 2).

Motivated by the fact that grassroots development could not

successfully be promoted without the availability of trained manpower, ideas which were nevertheless sound but lacked the resources and means of implementation, soon got translated into practical reality with little more than sheer determination and some assistance from friends and sympathizers. Hence, two years after the PAID idea was first hatched 'over a bottle of whiskey and some food,' as Vincent reminisces over it, the new organization was founded in Douala, Cameroon.

It would appear that right from the planning stages it was quite clear as to what nature and character the new institution would assume. To give it the freedom and independence from governmental and other forms of external control, it was considered prudent and expedient to keep it neutral and non allied. The choice of character was therefore governed by the exigencies of institutional objectives and the ultimate needs it was designed to serve. As Vincent explains it:

> PAID was styled an Association because we wanted to gather people and not establishments . . . . International because the probject . . . would create room for dialogue between Anglophones and Francophones . . . and close relationships between Africa on the one hand, and the rest of the world on the other.
> Non-governmental because it was necessary to find an autonomous way of development that was not totally dominated by the government.
> Swiss Law because it imposed nothing on us, leaving us with complete freedom of movement and because we were not even forced to make ourselves recognized officially.
> Headquarters in Geneva because it proved to be useful and effective to have a light foothold outside Africa in order not to get entangled with political conflicts, national or regional and not to have the future of our association depend on unpredictable events (p. 4).

The decision to inbue the organization with a neutral character, and to some extent a sense of detachment from the realities of Africa, has no doubt had its advantages and disadvantages. On the positive side of things, PAID has not only provided a useful venue for the exchange of ideas and knowledge on the most important problems and issues pertinent to African development, but has worked hard to create an awareness and above all has helped to establish a dialogue with and among those who have the responsibility to make things work. Even if these initiatives have sometimes been seen as drops of water in a mighty ocean because of the magnitude of the problem to be solved, she has nevertheless offered a flicker of hope especially to African leaders who have long realized that the real improvement in the lives of its masses will only be attained when real development at the grassroots takes place. Its avowed neutrality, especially in matters political; its non-governmental nature and its refusal to enslave itself to any one form of ideology, be it Captialism or Marxism, has without doubts enabled her to gain acceptability across the board, tredding on grounds where other partisan organizations will not be admitted nor dare attempt to do so.

While such detachment and neutrality has yielded some dividends from the view point of its ability to open lines of communication with African governments of all shades and ideologies, it has, on the other hand, bought itself a few problems in the process.

PAID to a good number of its critics, stands as a suspect organiza-

tion if not a political dilema. Many have wondered very seriously how and to what extent an Institution like her can maintain a trully independent and neutral character. It has often been pointed out that she cannot claim neutrality on grounds of her close ties and association to the West. Some critics would like to know the extent wo which the organization has actively sought help from Eastern bloc countries, or the degree of their participation in the PAID venture if any at all. The very absence of any such arrangements as it is presently the case they observe, is sufficient evidence to show on which side of the fence the organization belongs.

Furthermore, the very fact that the organization operates under Swiss Law and with Geneva as its headquarters at least up to 1980 contradicts the very principles for which a decolonised Africa stands. For many years the question has continued to be raised as to why an institution that professes to be African in character and functions, must be run from a base in Europe and under the direction of a non-African.

Whether or not these observations and criticisms are justified, there is no doubt that to some extent, they have had an impact or negatively influenced the attitudes of some African officials towards PAID. While financial support for the institution from African sources has grown considerably and increasingly over the last few years, it has been pointed out that this 'non-African character' of PAID is one important factor that has slowed down the response to calls for

financial contributions from among several governments. Furthermore, it is also argued that had the Organization of African Unity (OAU) given it an 'observer status', most African governments would have in turn had no difficulty in pledging at the very least, their token financial and moral support on a collective basis.

It is therefore quite possible that these considerations among many others did contribute to the resignation of the Secretary General of the organization by the end of August 1980. At the time of his resignation, he noted that time had come for the 'transfer of leadership from a European founder of PAID to Africans'. He went on to say

> leadership now in (my) hands must pass to Africa for the cultural, political and social situation of the continent demands it.
> We must be realists and recognize that in 1979, a Pan African Institute must be led by an African.
> Furthermore, to not pose the problem now delays a pressing problem.....After 15 years, one has given the institution all that one is capable of giving (Vincent, 1979, p. 34).

It must be pointed out that even though the instruments of power have now been transferred to an African, whose offices are located in Cameroon, Geneva still technically remains the financial nerve centre and legal headquarters of PAID. Such a contradiction has only helped to buttress the argument that the Institution is still essentially European controlled irrespective of the recent changes that have taken place. Critics make it known that it is unacceptable for an 'African Institution' to have the conduct of its operations controlled

by Swiss Law even after it is said to have been 'decolonized'. Per haps it is for this and several other reasons that PAID has taken serious steps to negotiate a protocol and headquarters agreement with the Cameroon government. The extent to which these new arrangements will replace the current status of the association is not clear and remains to be seen.

On the other side of the coin, one must also make the position clear that freedom goes hand in glove with responsibility. Unless Africans themselves are prepared to assume the major financial and material burdens of PAID in the years ahead, one can only surmise but a bleak prediction that the organization will continue to have its shoe strings tied from Europe and elsewhere.

The Years of growth and expansion. The specific objective for establishing PAID as one can discern from the ideas and actions of its founding fathers and pioneers was to seek ways of solving problems which had come to be recognized as the most pressing concerns of the time. As has already been mentioned, it was generally accepted that if significant improvements were going to be made in the lives of the ordinary majority of Africans, one effective way to tackle the issue, would be to create a non-governmental organization which will have close ties to existing governments, but whose functions would be to train middle level rural development staff that will play the role of intermediaries between policy makers and grassroots.

Hence by 1965, barely one year after the association was founded,

Ecoles de Cadres de Douala (ECD) or what is now IPD/AC began as a staff development training college for French speaking Africans. The rational for initially establishing PAID's facilities in Cameroon (even though its General Secretariat would be based in Geneva) has been explained by Vincent (1979).

According to him, Cameroon was considered the starting operational ground for the new Institution's activities on the basis of several factors. First, PAID's European co-founders had had their African experience in Cameroon, and hence had acquired a fairly adequate knowledge of development problems in that country. They were therefore inclined to start their operations in an environment with which they were conversant. An added dimension to this reason is the fact that among the founders were many Cameroonians and other Africans who resided in Cameroon at the time. It therefore appeared sensible to launch a project in a place that had the majority of its proponents and backers. The second factor had much to do with the availability of space. Because the Conference of Roman Catholic Cameroonian Bishops had put at the disposal of the Institute, buildings at very low rent, it was considered expedient to take up the facilities, since institutional resources at the time were barely hanging on threads. And thirdly, the fact that Cameroon is a bi-lingual country, and furthermore with easy access to Europe and other African countries seems to

have weighted very heavily in favor of the choice to establish ECD in that country.

The years that followed the establishment of this school (ECD) in Douala can be characterized as busy and eventful for the whole of PAID. The new Institute's authorities were occupied not only with the planning and developing of a suitable pedagogy that would enable the teaching team to do its job satisfactorily, but they were equally concerned with other aspects of institutional life such as staff shortages, inadequate financial resources and a host of other shortcomings which appeared to be posing a threat if not undermining the very foundation on which the PAID idea was built.

Two years after ECD had been in existence, an assessment of previous activities was made. Given the positive results that were obtained, it was generally agreed within the ruling circles of the organization that the time had come to open up the institution towards pan-Africanism as had been envisaged by its founders.

The establishment of PAID/WA. It would appear that the decision to establish a College for Anglophone Africans did not take long to implement in spite of the institutional experiences and problems that had sometimes discouraged staff at ECD and other members of PAID as a whole. Under the leadership and inspiration of Professor Peter Du Sautoy of Manchester University, who also at the time was the President of PAID's Governing Council, the idea of creating a College

for English speaking Africans was promoted and widely supported. In November 1969, DU SAUTOY COLLEGE, as the new College came to be known (in honor of Peter Du Sautoy who had now passed away), opened its doors to students from several countries. Following certain structural changes that have taken place in PAID as a whole, this College later assumed the name PAID/WA.

The advent of other projects. The creation of PAID/WA was followed by the rapid establishment of other projects. Convinced that a research component was necessary to complement training, the Centre of Applied Research (CAR) was created in 1972 in Douala. Shortly after that, the Centre for Project Management (CPM) was also established to provide specialized short-term training to senior or higher level personnel. Due to reasons of mismanagement and administrative reorganization, these projects did not survive for long and were later scrapped.

It would seem that as soon as PAID had taken off the ground and gained some momentum, she simply plodded her way through and implemented without serious reflection, whatever ideas were considered interesting. Under normal circumstances, all projects undertaken should have undergone scrutiny and careful planning right from the drawing board so as to avoid overlaps and wasteful spending. The early elimination of the CAR and CPM allows one the luxury to conclude that not much of serious thinking went into the original planning process. Had the research element been carefully conceptualized and incorporated within the

framework of on-going training programs for a start, not much of the heartaches and outcries of mismanagement that were later heard could have happened.

The strong criticisms that were made against the CAR for its lack of cohesive policies and activities, in restrospect, cannot entirely be blamed on the administrators of that program. If events must be put into their proper light and perspective, one can do no more than suggest that higher authorities be made to share not only the blame but also take ultimate responsibility for the mistakes and eventual collapse of that Centre.

The Reforms of the Mid-seventies

By 1975, PAID as a whole had learned many lessons from experience, and some of them painful ones. Consequently, the decision was made to re-examine its strategies for the purpose of strengthening its activities as well as making general improvements in the quality of its work. Many factors have been cited as motivating the new wind of change and reforms that followed.

Amongst these were the problems that arose from the implementation of the training programs that had been developed in both the French and English speaking Colleges. By the mid-seventies, it had become apparent that the training programs were not really achieving the main objectives for which PAID stands. There was a growing tendency within the institutions to train 'officials' rather than 'change agents'.

The two kinds of educational systems that produce these personnel can crudely be distinguished here in terms of the services that each provides. A school for training officials is more formal, highly structured and conventional in both the contents of its programs as well as in its methodology. It tends to concern itself with the attainment of better grades and diplomas, which are looked upon and valued as a means of obtaining higher positions in the bureaucracy, civil service and other jobs with a high status. In the case of the latter, the emphasis is with motivation, a less formal education which will permit the client to be equipped with needed and relevant skills, that above all, will enable the individual to function in a practical way.

PAID's overriding concern is not with the training of bureaucrats or officials who primarily focus their ambitions on white collar positions. Its main preoccupation is with innovators and real agents of change, i.e. individuals who can actually go down to the grassroots and work with peasants and farmers.

Hence by 1975, it had been observed that many graduates of the two colleges, were either running the risk of becoming officials, or were being rapidly swallowed by bureacracies and administrative systems, which situation often rendered it difficult for them to provide the kinds of services that were needed.

Many observers inside and outside of PAID, including former students, have suggested that this tendency towards training for bureaucracy is not only limited to the demands that are made by the

structural arrangements to which the graduates return, but perhaps to a profound extent is caused by the conventional education and classical theories of development that are taught and the pedagogical approaches adopted at PAID/WA. In such situations, students tend to spend more time in classrooms examining theoretical concepts than actually having a close 'feel' of reality in the field with peasants.

In the case of the two colleges, i.e., Buea and Douala, it was observed that grades, diplomas and the eventual placement in high positions were increasingly becoming issues of central concern and priority. Not only were the students trapped in this pattern of thinking, but so were also the staff who appeared to be actively encouraging it in the name of academia and high standards. Thus, institutions which had been conceived and created essentially as non-formal educational concerns were seen to be increasingly drifting towards conventional forms of education.

Another important factor that engineered the reforms is the research component which was not doing well. The Centre of Applied Research had ended up doing its own thing and did not conform to expected norms. Neither did its activities complement the training actions of the colleges nor did it help to produce results that would determine which actions and choices PAID as an institution could follow. The Centre's inability to cope with its functions as already noted did not only stem from its poor management or the inexperience of its staff, but significantly from the fact that it was put in charge

of an enormous program which saw its efforts highly dispersed. Besides seeking ways to incorporate research activities into the program of the training colleges, it was simultaneously engaged with several projects in French speaking coastal and English speaking southwestern province of Cameroon. The results that have been obtained from its efforts have not been totally negative, but the experience learned at the time, clearly show that a separate research institution in the context of PAID's activities could not survive on its own unless it was fully integrated with other programs.

Perhaps by far the most important rationale for the reforms was the need to decentralize. PAID had easily grown out of proportions, and the normative spread of its influence was not as widely diffused and profound as had been expected. The projects, i.e. the training colleges and research centre were too concentrated and crammed up in Cameroon. Activities that needed regional emphasis and accent could not be properly pursued because of distances and the phenomenal costs involved. It was therefore strongly felt that the right course of action would be to 'move the facilities closer to the different regions' of Africa. Not only will such moves lessen the accumulating pressures on the facilities located in Cameroon, but new avenues and opportunities will be opened for regional problems and concerns to be thought about and treated on an intimate basis, than from distant bases in Cameroon.

Thus the reforms as conceptualized and implemented were both

profound in content and style. Henceforth, all activities of each college were to be organized and executed within the framework of a tri-dimensionality - in which emphasis was placed on training, research and field support. This tripartite relationship between the three elements, in so far as PAID authorities and proponents of the reforms were concerned, constituted the fundamental orientation that would characterize all future activities of the association. As the prime mover of this new approach, Vincent's views of it have been expressed as follows:

> From now on IPD (PAID) must return to field work, and it is starting from the field that the training should be drawn up and given to the students. Research is an essential dimension of the action to be taken and IPD as an institution must involve itself more concretely and for long term in the given zones. (This) is the principle of tri-dimensionality: Action is education, education is research, and research is action. There should then be no activity of IPD training which is not linked to the field and the best way to realize the involvement of IPD was to choose laboratory zones where we would interpose our authority with students and teachers for many years. This would be the occasion to follow the dynamics of the development at the foundation, without replacing the countrymen, but by bringing them a technical, political and methodological support (1979, pp. 29-30).

The changes that have thus far resulted from this new thinking have no doubt had far reaching consequences for the organization. The fallout from the reforms essentially affected three main domains. Its first casualities were the CAR and the CPM. The functions of the former were redistributed in a way that would permit the colleges to carry out

full scale research work. In the case of the latter, it was more or less 'old wine filled into new bottles.' The Central Service for Program Support (SCAP) as this modified CPM came to be known, was assigned the task of supporting the training colleges in matters of publication, documentation and translation.

A second consequence was in the area of regional expansion. First Institut Panafricain pour le developpement/Afrique de l'Quest et Sahel (IPD/AOS) was established for the French speaking West Africa and the Sahel in the Upper Volta at Ouagadougou. Its creation was followed by another college for the English speaking eastern and southern Africa region (PAID/ESA) at Kabwe in Zambia. Such regionalization had the purpose of bringing PAID closer to the problems of the different regions, as for example, the issue of famine in the Sahel area.

A third and significant consequence was the move towards Africanization of the organization's leadership. By the time these initiatives had actually come into effect, all projects were headed by Africans. Soon after that, the post of Assistant Secretary General was created and an African appointed to it. By September 1980, the Secretary General lost his job and was replaced by an African.

The fathers and other protagonists of the reforms knew how difficult it would be to effect the changes which were being proposed and which most people within the association agreed were necessary. There was little or no doubt in the minds of most people that PAID could no longer go on existing as it did. The only course of action then, was

to open up the organization to new ideas and challenges that would help to strengthen the original objectives for which the institution was founded.

The Doctrinal Orientation of PAID

If PAID has consistently pursued goals aimed at promoting and enhancing rural development activities through training, research, and field support, its main strengths in fostering these objectives lie in the fact that she has consciously adopted principles which have enabled her to keep up with these pursuits.

One major question that has been constantly debated within PAID circles for many years is the issue of what ideological orientation the organization is taking, or must follow as the main supportive premise for its actions. At various PAID meetings and conferences, questions have been raised concerning not only the issue of ideological or political orientation of the organization, but also other related matters such as what kinds of development activities should PAID pursue, and for who, using what strategies etc.

Although these questions and issues have been extensively discussed at various times by staff as well as members of the governing council, much was not done to articulate or concretely define the organization's philosophy until the reforms had actually come into effect. For most members of PAID, it was clear that the ultimate goal of PAID's activities is to bring about certain desirable changes that would see rural poverty alleviated, but on the other hand, what was seen to be lacking was an ideological framework or a set of guiding principles that would help to provide the kind of impetus that is required to pursue institutional objectives. This nonchalant attitude on the part of PAID

to define its ideological commitment for many years after it was founded has been confirmed by Vincent as follows: "It was not necessary to define at length on which ideology the (PAID) project was based, but rather to live a certain number of values that would be transmitted" (1979, p. 4). Elsewhere in answering the question "From which strong ideas was the PAID project created?", Vincent responds by observing that "the answer is not easy (to provide) because it has never been written" (1979, p. 3).

Why there was this reluctance or delay in explicitly formulating a sound conceptual basis to back up institutional actions has not been explained, but judging from the motives of its founders, one can only conclude that there was some conscious effort to avoid defining PAID's ideological position so as to preserve its neutrality.

Whatever the case, by 1978, a set of guiding principles had been coherently formulated and put forward to serve as the main ideological basis or conceptual reference point for all PAID undertakings. The delineation of its philosophical stance was based on the premise that PAID's actions could no longer be carried out "without an authentic base in ideology" as observed by Vincent (1979).

The guiding principles that were thus formulated consisted of the following major commitments and ideas. First, it essentially reaffirmed the organization's private, international and pan African character; and as envisaged by its founders, reemphasized its prerogative to remain neutral and free from any political, religious or ideological influence emanating from any sources, regardless of whether or not such

origins were individuals, political parties, religious bodies, a state or a group of states.

Second it defined PAID's major option and purpose as being the furtherance of the 'economic, social and cultural development of the countries of Africa.....in order to promote and improve (peoples) standard of living' (PAID, 1978, p. 2).

And third, it specified the major operational tactics and strategies of the organization, which in this case it further defined as the training of development personnel, the carrying out of action oriented research activities, and the provision of field support to local peasant groups. In all, the guiding principles reaffirmed not only PAID's commitment to promoting especially rural development, but also emphasized the need to encourage integrated development actions in which local population groups can really participate and be fully involved in the making of decisions in activities aimed at changing their lives for the better.

The Leadership Structure

If the guiding principles or doctrine of an organization is important because it provides the values and basic framework on which its actions are based, it appears the question of leadership is even more fundamental and critical to its existence and survival because of its specific role to direct the internal operations of the organization, and also the management of its relations with the external environment.

The notion of leadership as conceptualized in relevant literature stretches far beyond the proverbial 'strongman' or one individual in whom authority and power is vested. In defining leadership, Esman, for example, refers to it as "the group of persons who are actively engaged in the formulation of the doctrine and program of the environment" (1967, p. 3-4). In other words, this definition includes not only those people formally charged with the direction of an institution, but also all others who participate in the planning, structuring, and the guidance of it. This point of view is supported by several other writers such as Blaise (1964), Hanson (1968) and Selznick (1957), who also characterize the leadership structure of an organization essentially in analoguous terms. Emphasis here is therefore on a collectivity of individuals charged with the responsibility of making joint decisions, as well as the implementation and supervision of actions arising from those decisions.

The leadership structure of PAID to some extent especially at the upper levels of the institution can be described as being akin to this conceptual framework, while to other extents it can be seen as retaining features which make it appear different. At the lower level of the Colleges, for example at PAID/WA, leadership is thought of more in terms of an individual in whom authority and power is vested such as the Director, rather than a group activity in which decision making and the direction of the Institute's affairs is a shared responsibility (Dravi, 1978).

The degree to which the leadership structure at the upper level of the Institution bears semblances to the theoretical framework referred to above is a function of two very important organs, the Assembly of Delegates (formerly Governing Council) and the Executive Committee (EXCOM) - whose members participate especially in the formulation of broad policies, and to some extent also oversee the implementation of decisions made. Membership to these two bodies is through elections, and sometimes by co-option, particularly in cases where individuals are considered as having certain expertise relevant to the fulfillment of organizational objectives. The practice of co-opting members to the Assembly of Delegates (AD) was more common in the past than at present. Currently, membership of the AD consist of Europeans and Africans many of whom have served for longer periods than the normal three year terms.

The President of the organization, who is also elected to his post like all other members to the AD is an African. In the past, his position and responsibilities were those of a titular head; chairing the meetings of the governing council and executive committee, and performing other duties that were non-executive but which required his perfunctory presence. More recently, his scope of functions have been enlarged to include much more frequent consultations with the Secretary General, and even decision making on behalf of the EXCOM or AD in cases where urgent matters cannot be postponed.

Even if the President may be seen as occupying the most honoured

post in the institution, indeed, a position which gives him more leverage to be frequently consulted by the Secretary General who has executive powers, he is to a good extent not only limited in his contact with those who actually implement the decisions of the AD and EXCOM such as senior and professional staff, but almost completely shut out from the day to day control and management of the different colleges and the organization as a whole.

In effect, this leaves the Secretary General, his Assistant and Directors who are all members of the Management Committee in complete control of institutional affairs. The idea of having a Management Committee came up a few years ago, especially during the early days of the reforms, when it became evident that some Directors were not only engaged in empire building, but also sometimes had the tendency to make decisions which violated the conduct of accepted institutional norms and principles, thus jeopardizing the smooth running of their Colleges and the administration of PAID as a whole.

While the Management Committee may have the function of making joint decisions and especially the role of advising the Secretary General, the latter as the executive head of the whole organization, remains a fairly powerful force in terms of his prerogatives to veto or make unilateral decisions. In fact, the enormous influence which anyone in that position wields is more than sufficient to either promote and enhance or destroy institutional goals and the course of planned activities. This is even more so if the office holder is serving in a

dual capacity as in the case of the former Secretary General who in addition to his official position, was also a member of the founding team. For this individual in particular, being in office for over sixteen years had made himself almost indispensable. Over the years he had reinforced and consolidated his position to the extent that he had become PAID and vice versa. Indeed, there was only a thin line separating him from the Institution. This close degree of attachment did not only help in forging a spirit of organizational unity and oneness of purpose in PAID, but had also developed in the man, an intolerant character or quality that has led him to make an introspective evaluation of himself as being somebody who "nurtures too much . . . and did not (during his term of office) allow for certain problems to be posed, shared, and assumed collectively" (Vincent, 1979, p. 33).

If the leadership style of the Secretary General had become rather autocratic, in terms of his unwillingness to accommodate or share views contrary to his own, one possible explanation for exercising such a tight grip on the institution, as observed by some staff, had a lot to do with his anxiety to see the PAID project succeed. Some have speculated that as one of the most important founding fathers of the organization, he had committed himself to nurturing the PAID project particularly in the area of fund raising to the extent that any failures or an eventual collapse, would have been interpreted to mean a lack of competence on his part. Hence what was also partly at stake was his prestige, and not only ultimate institutional goals.

The zeal with which he therefore discharged official duties especially at the level of the College provoked a situation which can be equated to a highly centralized presidential system of government in which those in authority positions primarily derive their powers from the head of state. In such systems the President is the final authority, in whose hands reside the powers to appoint or dismiss officials. The holding of office is there fore at his pleasure. One important consequence arising out of an arrangement of this type is that it leaves one individual fairly indispensable, and at the same time, creates a dependency mentality on the part of subordinates, as well as a general atmosphere of insecurity and uncertainty even long after the leader has left office. If the former Secertary General's term of office cannot be characterized exactly in the above terms, there is no doubt that due to his longevity in office as well as his forceful personality, the normative spread of his influence had easily permeated the organization over the years. His influence on the institution was so great to the extent that as soon as his departure from PAID was imminent, opponents of his rule were filled with a sense of relief, while on the other hand, protagonists were very disquieted. To ease these tensions, seminars of all PAID staff were organized in 1979 and 1980 to discuss the succession and other related issues.

The Secretary General's style of leadership had much to do with the kind of administrative structure that evolved and to this day still persist in the Colleges. In PAID/WA for example, leadership is con-

ceptualized more in terms of one individual who has final authority and exercises power than in a group of persons or a group process in which various roles such representation, decision making, and operational control is distributed in a variety of paterns among the senior professional staff such as lecturers, researchers, the librarian and registrar. This latter category of staff do, to some extent, participate in the planning, structuring and the directing of the College's affairs, but it can be argued from past experience that where critical issues are involved, the will of the Director has been known to prevail, even in cases where his technical competence was extremely limited such as in library administration (Nwanosike, 1981), and research (Langley, 1981).

One important factor that has compounded and reinforced his powerful position is the fact that he is the only one individual from the College who participates in the meetings of the Management Committee, and to some extent in the deliberations of the Executive Committee. This has left him in a position where he can do and undo particularly in matters of representing staff and the College as a whole at these various levels of decision making. Some staff have pointed out that even if in good faith Directors have been allowed enormous powers to preside over their 'empires', it is in the interest of the service that this happened, because physically, the Secretary General was too far away in Geneva to be consulted immediately on matters which required urgent decisions. What therefore appears here to be under

heavy criticism is the fact that the system of authority or in the final analysis, the Secretary General did not allow for adequate checks and balances that would curb down or limit any excesses as in the unconstitutional firing of staff or termination of contracts; a phenomenon that has become common practice in the PAID/WA since 1975.

The kind of leadership structure that has evolved in PAID/WA, is not the type that in the opinion of this researcher can be equated to what has been described as 'organic' by Hill, Haynes and Baumgartel (1973). In the organic form, more attention is paid to two-way communication, to the participation of subordinates in important decisions, and to the decentralization of centres of decision making.

The situation that has prevailed in PAID/WA at least for the last five years is one in which leadership has been personalistic and 'inorganic', leaving little or no room for the growth of personnel along with the institution. While such leadership arrangements may be deemed as suitable for organizations with rigid hierarchies such as the military or factories, they certainly do not appear to be ideal for training institutions like PAID.

Another factor besides leadership that has sharpened the distinction between the post of Director and the rest of the staff at PAID/WA is the absence of a hierarchy within the latter group. All senior staff are either lecturers, researchers, librarian, or registrar. There is no statutory position such as that of the Deputy or Assistant Director. Even though senior staff do not have ranks as it is the case

at most universities, seniority is nevertheless determined not by one's salary, but by an unwritten rule or convention which fixes positions according to the date of actual employment in PAID. For example, Mr. X who entered the service of the organization on a much higher salary scale as a result of his qualifications and more working experience six months ago, is considered administratively subordinate to Ms. Y who is less qualified, earns less pay and is not more experienced than Mr. X, but joined the service before him. While such an arrangement has temporarily helped to diffuse tensions arising from possible power struggles and the ambition to act in the Director's absence, the lack of a more clearly defined system of seniority nevertheless continues to engender latent and sometimes manifest conflict amongst members of staff.

Excessive bureaucratization in the form of rigid ranks and hierarchies can often be detrimental to the attainment of goals, particularly in educational establishments where communication channels and the free flow of ideas should be uninhibited so as to generate and foster a spirit of participation, and a sense of involvement on the part of everyone. On the contrary, the explicit absence of ranks, hierarchies and rules of seniority as typified in the example of PAID/WA, and as pointed out by Crozier (1964), does raise concerns which can be dysfunctional and fairly disruptive in the life of an institution. The importance of having a rational organizational structure that has clearly marked positions and rules governing the

conduct of behaviour as described by Weber (1946) and Robert Merton (1956) cannot therefore be overemphasized.

Such a 'formal organization' ensures that the responsibilities and rewards of the system are equitably distributed without reference to personal friendship and other relationships of non-bureaucratic nature. A system that lacks such clarity in its organizational structure and roles, is most likely to be fraught with struggles for scarce resources and power, and hence can easily be manipulated and exploited by its leader. The case is even more true if the leader is one who is insecure and authoritarian.

Internal Management at PAID/WA

One important aspect of institutional life at PAID/WA that appears to have been greatly affected by the kind of leadership and organizational structure described above is the way in which management and control is affected. The situation is best exemplified in the process of decision making and other aspects of administrative dealings.

There are basically two main levels of decision making at the College; first at the level of Senior Staff, and second at the level of the Director. However, before describing the processes at the two levels, a brief background information on staff seems necessary. The number of senior staff at the College at any one time fluctuates between 8 and 12 including the Director. It is a multi-national team of professionals who have had training in an assortment of fields. Their

disciplines include Agricultural Development, Economic Planning, Communications, Sociology & Social Anthropology, Cooperatives Management, Community Development, Development Administration, Financial Management, and Training Methods.

In terms of their national origin, the staff list of 1981 shows members as coming from the following countries: Cameroon 2, Ghana 2, Nigeria 1, Sierra Leone 1, United Kingdom 1, Uganda 3 including the Director whose predecessor came from Zimbabwe. They all constitute what in theory might be referred to as the leadership group of the College. They are normally recruited on a competitive basis in the capacity of Lecturers, Researchers etc. and at the time of their employment are assigened specific tasks or roles according to one's expertise. These duties are occassionally supplemented by other functions and responsibilities which are meant to ensure the participation of everyone in the process of decision making. For instance, Mr. Z may be contractually engaged as a Lecturer in Economic Planning. In addition to the normal job requirements of his post, the Director may also arbitrarily assign to him other duties, such as those of Student Warden or Staff in charge of field work.

What all of this implies in decision making terms is that, in addition to being primarily responsible for taking initiatives in the domains under his charge, he is also the first person to be contacted or consulted by the Director and colleagues whenever matters pertaining to his area arises. In situations where there is no interference and

undercutting from especially higher authorities, a sense of participation and involvement in decision making can actually be forged. The reverse is true if higher authority is shifty, manipulative and constantly engaged in stifling initiatives or pre-empting decisions which in the first place should have been made by the individual. This has been one important source or cause of conflict in PAID/WA. Over the last six years, staff members have complained and sometimes very bitterly about not being treated by the administration of the College as responsible individuals (Dravi, 1978). Specific criticisms include the accusation that higher authority is often engaged in manipulative tactics to undermine the credibility and professional integrity of individuals considered as critics of the administration (Nwanosike, 1981).

Beyond the level of individual initiatives, staff meetings are held once a month as the main focal point for seeking consensus on both academic and other matters. These meetings are attended not only by Senior Staff, but also by three student representatives whose participation is totally on an equal basis. Junior and supportive staff such as Clerks, Secretaries etc. do not take part in these deliberations because their employment contracts fall under the aegis of the Cameroon Labour Code, and hence have other forums for discussing matters affecting them.

While the structure of staff meetings for senior personnel may appear rational and meaningful from the view point of encouraging and

optimising participation, some staff for reasons already mentioned above, do not see these meetings in terms other than being instruments for legitimising or rubber stamping decisions already made by the administration. Such a view may not be completely valid in the sense that there are occassions when the Director may find it simply difficult to impose his will on others, as for example, during discussions concerning the subject matter of each individual member. At such times, group consensus is more often the respected norm.

On the contrary, past experience with a very water tight administration is perhaps the most important case in point that has been used to demonstrate the 'spineless' nature of staff meetings. Critics have pointed out several decisions which were taken at such meetings but later on undermined by the administration. Such interventions did not only end up at the level of staff meetings; they were also attempts to even interfere with decisions of the Staff Council, a statutory body of staff (excluding Director) set up to protect their interests, both at the College and also at governing council meetings. Commenting on the situation that existed, the views of one staff member reflects what went on as follows:

> Delegation of responsibility was not the objective previous to mid 1978 (ref: correspondence between the administration and staff representative at the time). After that time, staff pressure led to setting up of committees, but their work was systematically hampered without adequate reason. In fact, very little delegation of responsibility occurred and on one occassion, the Director directly intervened to attempt to change the written conclusions

> of a discussion held in staff council, although he had no authority to do so. Neither was delegation of responsibility practised in other matters, the Director reserving the right to change any course contents in direct discussion with a staff member, without the contents or method having been discussed among staff (Staff Memo to Director dated Sept. 16, 1981, p. 1).

Besides examples of this kind illustrating the administration's propensity to 'keep things under control', other factors aimed at limiting participation in decision making have also been mentioned. It has been pointed out that for many years in the past, the College's budget was never drawn with the consultation of staff, nor was it possible for them to see it once it had been approved by the Secretary General. In the view of this researcher, following his observations of the situation between 1975 and 1980, the main reason for this secrecy can be explained as follows: on several occassions, budgetary allocations which had been earmarked for research were diverted to other legitimate College activities without prior consultation or discussion with staff or the staff member in charge of research. Such diversions made it rather difficult for the latter to have adequate funds to carry out legitimate research activities to which he had also been assigned. Subsequent exchanges on this and other related matters made the Director to feel that staff reaction were merely attempts to curb down his powers or to challenge constituted authority. Such feelings provoked a situation where the 'nuts and bolts' on information dissemination were tightened, except in the case of a few confidants and

members of an inner circle or an 'in group' of advisors who had access and full knowledge of the administration's secrets.

However, the main problem that arises out of a situation in which the release of vital information is limited to a few, or one in which the Director alone is responsible for budgetary planning and spending creates an impasse in which staff cannot participate in a debate involving the budget. This was actually the case a few years ago, when students went on strike because their allowances for field work had not been increased. Subsequent attempts by the administration to rally support or discuss the issue with staff brought about feelings of indifference and in some cases outright refusal to participate in seeking a solution on the grounds of having been excluded from information that was necessary for such discussions.

A situation in which decision making is the preserve of one or an informal group of cronies; where vital official information is disseminated through the grapevine; where set procedures for hiring new staff etc. are circumvented, and where responsibilities are not adquately delegated have constituted some of the most important factors that have bred frustration, tension and factionalism within the PAID/WA community within the last six years. It is within this context that one can adequately understand the problems, the shortcomings of the administrative system, and the camps or groups of vested interests that evolved over the years, which era has been described by one staff member as the 'period

of hapharzard and chaotic' administration.

In making observations and presenting a brief for the administration, the authority at the helm of affairs at the time has rebutted the various charges and arguments propounded above by suggesting that

> Management through delegation of complete responsibility was the main objective (of his administration)... (That) some members of sfaff exploited the weakness of this policy by pre-occupying themselves with extra-curricula activities or simply not applying their full capacity to work required....(they) spent more time in nefarious activities and further writing subversive memos.
> (That the) lack of cohesion (among staff)....is mainly due to camps which manifested themselves when the post of Director was declared open for contest (PAID/WA, 1980).

In the opinion of this writer, it is extremely difficult to interprete or judge what is described above as 'nefarious' and 'subversive' since for over many years, PAID as a whole has been devoid of an explicit system that defines the conduct or the rules governing the behaviour of its members.

However, in response to the administration's position, a staff member has put up a counter rebuttal as follows:

> These are serious accusations....(that are not backed up in the Director's "Handing over Notes" nor in the Institutes records. Some staff were in fact explicitly requested to undertake extra curricula activities (sports, entertainment). No application of a staff member's capacity to his work would have been a matter for a Director to point out to him and should show either in a note in the staff member's file or in the annual evaluation: neither exist. Any undertaking of "Nefarious activities" would likewise have been pointed out to a staff member at that time. It was not done and to

> accuse a staff member of unlawful activity is rather too easy once one has left the Institute and gives no back up to the point. As to "Subversive memos" i.e. memos which tend or attempt to undermine authority or established ideas, this is a personal attack on a clearly identifiable staff member. Careful readings of these memos will show that rather than undermining authority, or established ideas, they represent a very serious attempt to bring back a minimum of sanity and equity into certain aspects of what were the Institute's unsatisfactory management. For example, if a staff member responsible for issuing leave tickets (and) allocating housing, refuses to do so and thus deprives a second staff member of what is in fact part of his earnings, then I see nothing "subversive" in the latter pointing this out to the Director in writing, once reasonable verbal communication has failed. .....camps did not manifest themselves at the time the post of Director was declared vacant; it was hardly a "contest." They were very active previously and in fact, the administration worked on the clear practice of building up such camps and not, as suggested, on the basis of "delegation of complete responsibility" (Staff Memo to Director dated Sept. 16, 1981).

What appears quite clear from these various exchanges, charges and counter rebuttals is the fact that to some extent certain administrative practices were not in confirmity with ideal principles of management. Though it may be difficult to judge or estimate the extent to which such deviant practices occurred, there is nevertheless the possibility that these problems, as will be discussed in Chapter V, did have some significant adverse consequences on the smooth functioning of the College, its programs and its linkages with the external environment.

Programs and Activities of PAID/WA

The fourth conceptual variable that needs to be considered in the attempt to fully comprehend what goes on at PAID/WA is the element of its programs and activities. In specific terms, these are the planned and organized actions which are designed to fulfill the goals of the institution as set forth in the legal mandates or guiding principles of the organization, and which also are needed and demanded by the environment to be served.

In keeping with the broad objectives of PAID, PAID/WA engages itself in a variety of activities aimed at producing development personnel at the middle level, whose primary role is to form the link between development plans and their implementation especially within the framework of an integrated approach.

To operationalize the doctrines of PAID, the College runs a one academic year course on integrated rural development; short courses on various development themes with their duration ranging from four to six weeks, and seminar/refresher courses designed specifically for its former students on the one year course, but to which experts and other non-PAID scholars are invited to attend. It also undertakes action oriented research especially in a laboratory zone earmarked for this purpose (Zones of Guided Integrated Development or ZOGID for short); does consultancy work with various governments and agencies in Africa, and lastly, provides an advisory service or support to local peasant groups, which advice is meant for helping them to

identify relevant facilities and services offered by society, and other sources of resources that can be of assistance in their development efforts.

Because the short courses and seminars are of transitory nature, what will be described here to some length are the one year course, research and support activities.

Training for integrated rural development (IRD). The one year course on IRD is the central core or main activity around which all other actions of the College are based. It also constitutes the basic service of the Institute which is needed and most frequently demanded by the College's clientele, and thus providing the fundamental basis on which this study is being carried out.

When the College first opened its doors to African students in November 1969, those who constituted this first batch were nearly all from different departments of community development even though the aim was to recruit extension workers with diverse backgrounds. The main reason for this is that College authorities and PAID as a whole were eager if not anxious to have the new program for "Anglophones' started, and furthermore, in nominating students, most participating governments had got the erroneous impression that the course or the new Institute was basically a Community Development training facility.

The composition of students in subsequent courses bears witness to the fact that the Institute is no longer seen primarily in those

terms, even though one still gets the impression that most potential client governments including some who have sponsored students to the College do not fully understand what is being offered. Over the years, student numbers have also changed gradually from a situation where there were only 24 in the 1969-70 course to one in which the College is currently accepting 64 annually. These include men and women, though there is still a preponderance of the former over the latter. That such a situation exists is not by design, but due to traditional attitudes which have negated or played down the education of women and the useful contributions which can also be made by them. Realizing the fact that the College may probably have to wait for eternity, an admissions policy has been adopted whereby rigid acceptance criteria is often overlooked in order to admit women applicants, who under normal circumstances may not qualify. This policy has been responsible for increasing the quota of women entrants from situations of none to one in which female students constitute at least 10% of the student body each year.

In order to gain admission to the one year course, the College requires all nominees to fulfill certain minimum entry conditions as follows: The possession of a high school diploma or its equivalent; the completion of a two to three year professional course after graduation from high school (such fields may include Agriculture, Cooperatives, Planning, Community Development, Administration, Education, etc.); and at least five years of relevant working experience. During

the first few years of the College's existence, many students were accepted without these prerequisite qualifications. But with a much better widespread knowledge of the Institute all over Africa during the past few years, students with qualifications beyond the minimum are recruited each year.

Objectives of the course. According to the Institute's scheme of training program, the one year course is aimed at producing manpower who

- will be able to establish an effective link between national and sub-national structures and the people;
- can ensure continuity of action by establishing a communication channel between local, regional and central decision making units;
- are able to work effectively with national development plans, ensuring the coordination and harmonisation of development programs;
- will have a dynamic approach to development which takes an account of the needs and reactions of people and which helps the latter to learn from each project undertaken and to use the lessons of one project to proceed to the next;
- can improve their ability to handle problems of development especially those requiring an integrated approach, by applying theoretical training to practical field experience (PAID/WA Brochure, 1980, p. 4).

The above objectives explain why course participants are recruited from different backgrounds and disciplines and especially those directly related to rural development. Whether through the medium of short

courses and seminars, or through the long course, the College is primarily pre-occupied with imparting relevant skills in its students so as to enable them cope or function adequately in situations needing their knowledge and expertise. Because of the multi-faceted aims of the one year program, a typical cross section of students attending one course may include personnel who are men and women; have different professional backgrounds; may originate from one of 17 English speaking African countries; may possess varying levels of academic qualifications ranging from the barest minimums outlined above to first degrees and other post-graduate diplomas; and above all will include participants who have plenty of practical field experience, many of who have worked for not less than ten years. What this produces is a highly mixed bunch or hodge-podge of students who come into the program with the same or very dissimilar expectations and hopes, depending on their needs back at home.

Course contents. The main elements of the course can be classified into four principal categories. These include phases of common core lectures both at the beginning and towards the end of the program; two field work sessions at the Village and sub-district levels; a case study and a period of specialization or concentration.

The first series of common core lectures are delivered for two months at the beginning of the academic year in October, while the second set are taught along with specialization during the last two months of the course. These inter-disciplinary set of lectures are

generally focused on the basis of rural development and are designed to introduce students to theories and concepts underlying rural development activities, and furthermore, to prepare them for subsequent field studies. Subjects include Agricultural Economics, Sociology and Social Anthropology, Communications, Community Development, Cooperatives, Economic Development and Planning, and more recently, Development Administration, and Nutrition/Health whenever it can be arranged.

Following the first series of common core lectures, students are sent under staff supervision to conduct socio-economic studies in villages for three weeks, and subsequently in zones or rural council areas and sub-districts for about four weeks. In groups of seven and eight students each, these surveys are conducted, a report written, and a joint evaluation of the exercise is carried out by each group together with members of staff.

A third component of the course is the undertaking of a case study in some major problem of development by each student. The main aim of this exercise is to enable the student to take responsibility for individual study, and more especially to allow him/her the opportunity to focus attention on some specific problem or concern of interest to himself. The time allowed for this activity is spread out between the end of the first series of common core lectures and the end of the course in late June. To regulate the quality of the reports produced, three experts in different fields are invited from outside PAID/WA to grade and evaluate the studies.

The final phase of the program consists of what is styled 'specialization or concentration.' During the last two months of the course, students are allowed the option to choose or concentrate on one of the following areas of specialization, viz. (i) Agricultural Development and Economic Planning, (ii) Social and Community Development, (iii) Co-operatives Development and Management, and (iv) Communications and Training Methods. By providing students the opportunity to concentrate in an area of interest, it is hoped that they will be able to acquire specific skills that will enable them become more proficient in their work on returning home.

In running an integrated course of this kind, the College's main aim is to produce agents of change who in the long run can perceive development needs and problems from a broad and global perspective, than from the pigeon hole of a fixed discipline.

Research. The basic philosophy guiding the research program of the College does not essentially differ from the general principles underlying training or other programs of the Institution as a whole. Research activities are however centered on the premise that the fundamental choice of training, is not alone sufficient for finding solutions to the numerous problems of development in Africa. Consequently, research must be integrated as much as possible into training in order not only to explore ways of using knowledge and experience gained from it, but also to constantly search for new methods of improving and promoting

the effective participation of local communities in decisions affecting their lives.

Prior to the beginning of the reforms in 1975, PAID/WA did not carry out any research on an institutional basis. Activities that were undertaken, if any, were carried out purely on individual initiatives and interests, and not as part of a concerted effort of the College. Although the Centre of Applied Research conducted studies of different types, its activities did not mutally support the training efforts of the Colleges. Following its abolition, all research activities were transferred to the training institutions to constitute an important element in the tri-dimensionality, thus creating a situation that has remained unchanged.

At the present time the research activities of PAID/WA are concentrated in the Zones of Guided Integrated Development (ZOGID) located near Kumba, a town in the Southwest Province of Cameroon. In establishing these zones, PAID/WA's main aim is to translate the exigencies of the reforms into practical realities, but more especially to

- bring training contents, methods and practice in the field of integrated rural development closer to the needs of the rural populations.

- work out the practical aspects of an integrated approach to rural development through the stimulation of and support to development actions by the population, their representative bodies and local development staff, in a rural area in the Southwest Province of Cameroon.

- provide further knowledge on development processes and obstacles, specifically at local and micro-

> regional levels, and as they relate to an overall strategy for self-reliance (ZOG/SER.E/14/79, p. 1).

So far the experience with implementing these objectives and lofty ideals has not been totally positive.

Support activities. In addition to training and research, PAID/WA also attempts to provide consultancy services to clients who need it, and advisory support to local peasant groups. The establishment of a consultancy service is based on the idea that there are many development problems to which the College can help provide solutions on a remunerative basis. Furthermore, such activities may be of interest to the College because they provide not only opportunities for finding solutions to problems, but also the chance for staff members to grow professionally.

In the case of advisory support to local peasant groups, the Institute has discovered over the course of time that peasants sometimes do not pursue development activities simply because they do not know that certain services and facilities exist or can be utilized by them. By providing this service free of charge, the Institute aims at first of all assisting development efforts directly at the grassroots level, and secondly, creating more room for exchanging information and views between its staff, extension workers and peasant groups themselves.

The support aspect of the College's programs is yet to be fully developed, and plans are currently under way to eventually recruit a

full-time staff for the promotion of this activity.

Institutional Resources

The resource base of any organization is perhaps one of the most fundamental element that holds the key to its success and survival. In considering the resources of an Institution like PAID, one is thinking here of what Gautam et al (1970) have described as

> the inputs of the organization that are converted into products of services and into increases in institutional capacity (p. 3).

These do not only include fiscal cash or money as it is often thought to be the case, but also such intangibles as legal and political authority, the waiver of certain fees, free access to goods and facilities that cannot be quantified, and generally other forms of assistance that may be provided in kind.

The case of PAID is an illustrative example of an organization that began virtually with little or no money, but with plenty of goodwill, faith and the determination to succeed. According to Vincent (1979), the early beginnings were financially very unpredictable and difficult. Funds were extremely limited to the extent that even Secretaries for the organization could not be hired, which made it necessary for a good many organizational tasks to be performed on a voluntary basis.

However, as the Institute gradually became established and well known, various forms of aid and assistance began to trickle in.

Initially, it was the Cameroon Government which gave the new organization the necessary political and legal authority to establish base in Cameroon. In a letter dated November 4, 1964 from the President of Cameroon, PAID was told:

> It is with pleasure that I address my sincere encouragement to you, and that I assure you that you will constantly find in me, as in my government, the needed understanding, and the necessary support for your project (Vincent, 1979, p. 8).

Such authority was absolutely necessary because as Vincent (1979) has noted, "most financing could not be gotten unless the Cameroon Government supported the project."

However, with the granting of such permission, the new Institute continued to receive various amounts of donations mainly from individuals and other private sources.

While these early beginnings of PAID's existence is known to have been financially difficult and precarious, the organization has nevertheless throughout the years, gradually built up its financial reserves from a position of nothing and uncertainty to the present state where financial aid is assured at least on a medium term basis, not only from Europe, but also from sources in Africa and elsewhere. The current budget for PAID as a whole for the 1981-82 academic year was 920.000.000 CFA (African) francs or the approximate equivalent of U.S. $4,279.067, while that of PAID/WA per se was 180.000.000 CFA francs or approximately U.S. $837.209 (with the rates of exchange calculated at U.S. $1 = 215 CFA). It is estimated that during the 1986/87 academic

year, these figures will increase to at least 6.295.000.000 CFA francs or U.S. $29.279.069 for PAID and 1.230.000 CFA francs or U.S. $5.720.930 for PAID/WA (Six Year Plan, 1981, p. 55).

These phenomenal increases mean that PAID will have to be very active in campaigning, not only for new financial sources of aid but also doing a job that will enable current donors to maintain their contributions in the years to come. At the present time, PAID as a whole is financed by various sources among whom the major contributors are:

African sources	23.2% of total costs.
U.S.A.I.D.	20.6% of total costs.
Swiss Tech. Asst. Prog.	20.5% of total costs.
Inst. for Int'l Sol. Bonn	9.4% of total costs.
Dutch Tech. Cooperation	6.4% of total costs.
UNICEF	5.5% of total costs

(Six Year Plan, 1981, p. 51).

African governments who are the main beneficiaries of PAID's services have been steadily increasing their financial contributions from 28.000.000 CFA (U.S. $130,233) in the 1974/75 academic year to 230.500.000 CFA (U.S. $1,072.093) in the 1979/80 academic year. These sums amount to increases of 5.6% to 23.2% of total revenues received during the intervening period.

Besides these various sources, PAID has been increasingly having contracts with several agencies mainly in Africa. It has been estimated that such contracts represented 10% of budgetary revenue during the

1979/80 session. This important potential source of financing is yet to be fully exploited, and this explains why a mid-term evaluation report by USAID has recommended that "PAID begin a policy of uniform pricing of its contract services on the basis of actual costs, including staff salaries, plus a realistic overhead rate" (USAID, 1980, p. 11).

Considering the fact that all PAID training colleges, etc. are funded directly through the General Secretariat, there is no means of determining the ability of each College (e.g., PAID/WA) to raise money on its own and become self-supportive. PAID/WA, like all other projects, receives its annual budgetary appropriation from the General Secretariat on the basis of justifiable needs and planned programs. Such financial dependency on the Secretariat does eliminate a situation of direct accountability of the College to its clientele.

In addition to outright donations and revenues from contracts, both of which constitute the main source of the Institute's finances, benefits are also derived from other forms of assistance which cannot easily be quantified. For instance, in each of the countries where there is a PAID establishment, protocol agreements have been reached with the various governments, giving the institution and its personnel, diplomatic immunities, exemption from customs duty and other forms of taxation, freedom of movement of persons and equipment and many other types of incentives that can enable the institution to function effectively without difficulties. It is the kind of assistance that has been very instrumental in creating the free atmosphere in which PAID/WA has been able to implement its programs since its inception in 1969.

CHAPTER V

THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF PAID/WA

Presentation of Data

The last chapter has been an attempt to provide an historical and structural overview of the institutional growth and development of PAID as a whole, and of PAID/WA in particular. Earlier in Chapter II, the discussion was based on a literature review of studies carried out by various scholars interested in the area and problems of building institutions for development, especially in Third World countries.

This chapter examines the activities of PAID/WA within the context of that growth process. It focuses mainly on the institution's strengths and weaknesses as identified from formal and informal interviews, discussions with some Institute personnel, official documents and records, this researcher's own experience as a member of the teaching staff for nine years, and an attitude survey conducted among selected former students.

In order to present and interpret findings, the chapter will be divided into two main parts. The first section will consist of the presentation of the data collected, while the second part will deal with the analysis and interpretation of the information gathered.

Data from Qualitative Sources

As already indicated in Chapter III, the data collected for this study was through qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative information under normal circumstances is usually voluminous and rather too bulky to be presented in its entirety, hence what is presented below is a summary of the most important issues that were gleaned from participants' responses and other sources of information. The central question or issue that guided the conduct of interviews and other information collection activities is tied up to the main purpose of carrying out this study, which, as explained in Chapter I, was to explore and to determine factors of strengths and weaknesses that have inhibited or contributed to the institution building efforts of PAID/WA, especially with respect to the institutionalization of its programs.

Before gathering detail information with regards to the different aspects of PAID/WA's institutional life, it was necessary to ascertain the extent to which the philosophy or guiding principles of PAID as a whole was understood and accepted by its members and associates. The element of providing a value system that gives members of an organization a sense of solidarity cannot be overemphasized, for as Montgomery (1966) has pointed out, the doctrine of an institution is "the self-propelling, self-renewing value system that gives an organization a life line independent of the corporate sum reached by adding up the qualities of its individual members" (p. 28).

Based mainly on observations over many years, and the subsequent discussions and interviews with certain members of PAID, it was clear that in general, the organization enjoys a great deal of support in its aims and objectives. Not only are its personnel willing and eager to fulfill their normal duties as employees of the organization, but are prepared beyond this commitment to dedicate their time and efforts to a cause that is considered worthwhile and regarded with high esteem. As one staff member of the organization put it to this researcher

> I am not here simply because of the money. I am here and will continue to be in PAID because I share its ideals and aspirations. It is important that we in this organization should be ideologically committed to making our own contribution towards the future development of Africa--PAID in my view provides the most unique opportunity.

This same interviewee (identified here as Mr. X) went on to express the view that even though he felt professionally motivated and committed to serving the institution to the best of his abilities, he nevertheless feels that there are still certain structural and organizational issues that tend to obscure the 'noble goals of the institution.' He cited as reasons for his apprehension the fact that for over many years the authorities of the organization have either been completely ignorant of the many problems that have been engendered through growth and expansion, or have simply decided to ignore these concerns. He went on to further comment as follows:

> Nobody likes to work in a system that is frequently

> torn apart by unnecessary conflicts. Such problems do not help to promote organizational aims effectively. What they do in the final analysis is to generate fear and insecurity especially among subordinates.

He cited as a case in point the fact that over many years PAID/WA, for example, has been riddled with many administrative problems which have never been effectively solved. He referred to the fact that authorities of that College had become 'too personalistic and power drunk' to the extent that many improprieties had been committed without adverse consequences or retributive effects on them. Staff contracts at times had been terminated without adequate reason or justification, which, consequently, resulted in the Institute being forced into unnecessary and expensive litigation. He went on to add that

> The administrative irregularities that became a permanent feature of that College cannot be held only against those who perpetrated them. Wrongdoing which went unchecked could not be possible if higher authorities prevented them, or if the whole system was adequately organized with guarantees to stop such acts.

In confirming the views of Mr. X, respondent Y added that as a result of the situation that existed, personnel morale had not only plummeted very low, but staff had also occupied themselves with fierce power struggles which proved to be costly in terms of the man-hours lost. According to him, these problems occurred because the PAID system of administration is rather "too heavy at the top." In such systems, the distribution of power and authority is minimal and very limited; the mechanisms and modes of control and decision making are all concentrated in the hands of one individual who happens to be head of

the establishment. The instruments of power are basically seen as his prerogatives; he may delegate authority at will and very often may choose who to represent him or act in his place without reference to given rules and fixed procedures. This, in turn, creates a situation in which subordinates may all look up to him personally for scarce resources and their well-being.

As explained by Mr. X, circumstances of this kind are easy to exploit by those in authority and power positions because it leaves them in a fairly strong position to manipulate others in order to do as they please. To back up what he described as the "excessive abuse of power" by authorities at PAID/WA for over several years, he cited the celebrated case of one staff member who had been accused of misconduct falsely as it was later proved. Without evidence, it had easily been recommended to the Management Committee that the staff member in question be asked to resign or be fired if he refused to acquiesce. As it later was proven, the main source of information for the alleged wrongdoing was the grapevine. The administration had neither bothered to investigate the matter properly nor consult higher authorities before attempting to force the staff member in question to resign. Eventually, after some other staff had protested vigorously against the slipshod conduct of the administration and pressurized for a full-scale investigation by PAID's disciplinary committee, the individual concerned was vindicated. Too shaken and demoralized to stay on, he decided to quit the services of PAID/WA.

The structure of an organization, especially with regards to its communication processes and decision making, is a very significant factor that may influence the manner in which the participants of a system may or may not identify with it. Where organizational structure allows loopholes in its arrangements, or the existence of inconsistencies of the type described above, deference to authority and system maintenance can prove to be an awkward problem.

The development of an innovative institution must not only depend upon the naked use of authority or power to induce compliance and loyalty from participants, but should depend on the creation of an organizational structure and institutional leadership that is capable of managing and controlling the behavior and conduct of its members, not by coercive and intimidative methods, but mainly through persuasion and reason. This explains why both Messrs. X and Y are critical and have not at all been impressed by the Institute's leadership nor the internal structural arrangements within PAID as a whole.

Quite apart from these leadership and structural problems, information from non PAID sources points to the fact that PAID/WA's links with the local environment had gradually become tenuous over the preceding seven years. The distance between local leaders and PAID/WA's authorities had steadily grown apart to the extent that it was sometimes difficult for the latter to approach the former with ease for anything. As observed by this researcher and validated by information from other sources, authorities at the Institute had come to regard their status as special and far from being subordinate

or subject to local institutions and laws. This created a situation where there was obvious resentment on the part of some local authorities and people. As one official, identified here as Mr. Z, noted

> Many people around here are unimpressed and disappointed at the manner in which you PAID people conduct yourselves. Some of your leaders behave as if they own this country.

Among many other incidences recounted to prove the 'arrogant behavior of PAID people,' he cited the example of an Institute employee who had not conducted himself with decorum in a court of law simply because he felt that he was a 'diplomat.' The judge in this specific case was purported to have warned the individual of the consequences that could follow if his behavior was not confined within the prescribed limits of the court. Mr. Z noted that situations of this kind did not only violate the principles of maintaining or reciprocating common courtesies between the local people and the Institute, but are responsible for tainting the image of PAID as a whole.

The importance of building up linkages between an organization and its environment has been adequately underscored by Esman (1967) when he says

> The institutionalized organization does not exist in isolation; it must establish and maintain a network of complementarities in its environment in order to survive and to function (p. 5).

PAID/WA, for the most part, depends very heavily on the goodwill of local authorities for the success of especially its field studies operations. Without the necessary permission and cooperation from local officials and population groups, it is difficult to imagine how

its ultimate aims can be accomplished.

A final and very important concern that came through very strongly from interviews with non PAID personnel and especially ex-students of the Institute was the problem of the inadequate circulation or the dissemination of information about the College and PAID as a whole. A local departmental head revealed that he was not fully acquainted with the Institute's programs even though he had been around town for many years. According to him, the prevalent belief among many people in the environment, especially during the early years of the Institute's existence, was that the College was primarily a community development facility. Even though much had been done to dispel this image, many people were still largely ignorant and uninformed about the real activities of the institution. He conceded that part of the problem of accepting PAID/WA's diplomas in Cameroon could also be attributed to the fact that the authorities in the central bureaucracy were not fully briefed and updated about the pursuits of the Institute. This possibly explains why, for many years, graduates of the College had not succeeded in convincing the Ministry of Public Service to promote them on the basis of their PAID/WA diplomas--a problem which still remains largely unresolved. Accordingly, he observed that it is in the interest of both the Institute and its clientele to circulate adequate information about the organization not only within Cameroon but also in countries that send students to PAID/WA for training.

Data from Quantitative Sources

Besides the data gathered from qualitative sources and reported above, a mail survey was also conducted among selected former students from six West African countries in order to further explore and determine factors that influence or affect the growth and development of the Institute, particularly with regards to its training program.

As already discussed in Chapter III, information requested from participants included their backgrounds, the relevance of the training received at PAID/WA, issues of pedagogy and administration, matters concerning the circulation of information about College activities and the recognition of the diploma by employers. The main reason for gathering additional information from former students was first, to validate and strengthen data collected from qualitative sources, and second, to determine more specifically the extent to which the training program had become institutionalized. From this point of view, former students were seen as being in the best possible position to make meaningful judgments concerning the Institute's activities, having been closely associated with it for at least one year.

What follows below is, therefore, a summary of the additional data that was collected through participants' responses in the survey.

Survey returns. Of the 200 questionnaires that were mailed to survey

participants, 50 percent were returned. Considering the fact that transportation and the postal system within many African countries are fairly rudimentary and not as well developed, the rate of return was regarded as very high. In a similar survey conducted among the former students of PAID/WA by Ergas (1978), only 9 percent or eight out of 88 questionnaires were returned. Among reasons cited for the low returns included problems of poor mailing systems and the lack of adequate transport facilities that could have helped to ease contact with survey participants.

In the specific case of this study, various methods and strategies were deployed to send and receive replies as already described in Chapter III. Table 4 is a breakdown of returns by country and participant's year of graduation from PAID/WA. Column X represents the sample size or accessible population, i.e., the actual number of participants to whom the questionnaires were sent. Column Y represents the returns, and column Z is the total number of returns for each class or year. By country, the relative frequency of returns was as follows:

Cameroon	58%
Gambia	27%
Ghana	56%
Liberia	50%
Nigeria	45%
S. Leone	26%

Table 4. Tabulation of survey returns.

Year	Cameroon		Gambia		Ghana		Liberia		Nigeria		S. Leone		
	X	Y	X	Y	X	Y	X	Y	X	Y	X	Y	Z
1969-70	8	4	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	5
1970-71	8	5	1	-	2	2	-	-	2	1	1	-	8
1971-72	6	3	1	-	2	1	-	-	4	2	1	-	6
1972-73	7	3	1	-	3	-	-	-	6	4	1	1	8
1973-74	6	3	1	-	2	2	1	-	7	3	1	-	8
1974-75	5	3	1	-	4	3	1	1	8	5	1	-	12
1975-76	6	3	1	-	4	1	1	-	6	2	1	1	7
1976-77	6	4	1	1	5	2	1	1	5	1	1	-	9
1977-78	2	2	2	-	3	2	1	1	7	1	1	-	6
1978-79	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	-	4	3	2	-	7
1979-80	3	1	2	2	3	3	1	-	6	3	3	2	11
1980-81	3	3	3	1	4	3	1	1	7	3	1	2	13
Totals	62	36	22	6	36	20	8	4	62	28	23	6	100

Female participants constituted 11 percent of the sample size (or 22 out of 200) and their returns were 14 percent of the total number replies received. The relatively small number of females in the survey population reflects the general absence of women in the various courses mounted since the inception of the Institute. This preponderance of males over females has not been due to any discriminatory policies, but have resulted from factors that are beyond the scope of this study. However, it is important to observe that the Institute has been making considerable progress in its efforts to increase the number of women students in its training programs.

In terms of the educational qualifications of participants prior to entering PAID/WA, certificates held by respondents included:

1.	Holders of academic qualifications less than a high school diploma	= 1
2.	Holders of a General Certificate of Education (GCE 'O')Ordinary level/High School diploma	= 19
3.	GCE advanced level/Junior College equivalent	= 2
4.	Bachelor's Degree	= 5
5.	GCE 'O' level plus professional diploma	= 59
6.	GCE 'A' level plus professional diploma	= 7
7.	Bachelor's degree plus professional diploma	= 5
	TOTAL	100

The returns on the whole were fairly representative of all the various categories and groups of students who enter PAID/WA each year. Broken down, the 100 respondents included both males and females, representatives of the six West African countries, graduates of each course between 1969 and 1981, and holders of an assortment of pre-entry qualifications as outlined above.

With regards to the numerical adequacy of the sample size, Sudman (1976) has suggested a number of guidelines which need to be followed for studies of this type. According to him, large surveys should have at least 100 subjects in each subgroup and between twenty and fifty in each minor subgroup. For the purpose of this study, the

six countries covered in this survey may be regarded as constituting one major subgroup of students at PAID/WA. The others not covered include East and Southern African countries from which PAID/WA also recruits students.

Returns from Gambia, Liberia and Sierra Leone do not meet Sudman's second criterion of having between twenty to fifty subjects in each minor subgroup. It was not possible to fulfill this requirement because, in spite of the extra measures taken to increase the rate of returns, nothing more than what has been reported was received. Furthermore, in the case of Liberia, the total number of former students from that country between 1969 and 1981 is only eleven--not even sufficient to constitute a minor subgroup in Sudman's terms.

For the purpose of this study, a 50 percent return rate was therefore regarded as adequate and capable of yielding results of significant value. Non-conformity to Sudman's criteria was consequently not seen as having adverse or negative effects on the overall findings.

Method of analyzing data. Before analyzing participants' responses, the data was coded and prepared for the computer using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), a program format designed for such purposes. Furthermore, the correlation coefficient of all variables was checked in order to identify possible questions that were correlated. As seen in the table on (Pearson's Correlation) coefficients in Appendix G, there were no cases of perfect correlations.

Following this step, several runs and cross tabulations were made with items 01 to 04 (Appendix C) as controlling variables.

Following these computer runs, it was observed that returns for some of the years (e.g., 1970) did not have a fairly reasonable number of participants whose responses when analyzed could yield results of much statistical and/or practical value. For this reason, the twelve year period, i.e., 1969 to 1981, was regrouped into four major sessions representing the different administrations that the College has had since it was established as follows:

Period 1--1969 to 1971

Period 2--1972 to 1974

Period 3--1975 to 1980

Period 4--1981

To render it less cumbersome, especially for the purpose of interpreting the outputs from the computer, the five point scale from variables fourteen to seventeen was reduced to three only, viz (1) short, (2) adequate, and (3) long. Similarly, the five point scale from variable nineteen through thirty-two was also reduced to the following four: (0) not true, (1) to a small extent, (2) to a considerable extent, and (3) to a great extent.

Summary of Responses

The following is a summary of the results that were obtained from the analysis of participants' responses. In reporting these findings, it should be pointed out that only the most important

issues that have had a direct bearing and impact on the institutionalization of the College's training program will be summarized. As derived from data, these include (a) course contents, (b) program duration, (c) program utility, (d) diploma recognition, (e) information dissemination, (f) institutional resources, and (g) other miscellaneous issues.

Course contents. As observed from the summary of participants' responses, there were no major shortcomings or problems affecting the contents of the one year training program. On the contrary, the overall assessment of the four main components of the course comprising the areas of common core, field (i.e., village and zone) studies, concentration or specialization and the case study were positively rated.

With regards to whether or not common core subjects are instrumental in promoting the integrated approach to solving development problems, participants' ratings were as follows: 58 percent agreed that it was fulfilling this objective to a great extent; 27 percent said it was doing so to a considerable extent; 11 percent said to a small extent, and the remaining 4 percent thought that it was not promoting integration at all.

Turning over to the component of 'concentration,' the majority of participants were quite emphatic about the need to start it earlier--presumably in order to have a much longer period within which specialized skills can be acquired. At the present time, the

course calendar provides only two months within which this phase of the program can be tackled (see Appendix H). In the past, students have complained and argued that two months is grossly inadequate, and that a much longer period is necessary if participants must return home with a deeper knowledge of their disciplines. To this effect, 57 percent agreed that it is useful to a great extent to start concentration much earlier in the year; 21 percent agreed that this should be so to a considerable extent; 18 percent indicated that this is necessary to a small extent and only 4 percent did not see the need to start it earlier. The fact that the majority of participants are for extending the concentration phase is clearly illustrative of their expectations especially prior to entering the Institute. Most see the opportunity of attending PAID/WA as a means of expanding their knowledge particularly in their various professional fields, and hence would prefer a situation in which they are allowed more time to major in areas related to their jobs or in other fields of interest.

With respect to the case study component, participants did not appear too overly enthusiastic about its value in contributing much substance to the training program as a whole. Only 37 percent indicated that it was valuable to a great extent; 32 percent said it was so to a considerable extent; 20 percent agreed that its contributions were to a small extent and 6 percent did not agree that it is of any value. The remaining 5 percent did not answer the question.

Field studies were surprisingly rated quite high, given the fact that the exercise as a whole is not only intellectually challenging, but also physically demanding to the point of being inconvenient. Fifty percent of all participants agreed that field studies were worth the efforts, time and hardship to a great extent; 26 percent said that it was so to a considerable extent; 16 percent indicated that this was true to only a small extent and 7 percent disagreed that it was worth anything.

Course duration. The one year training program appears to be one major aspect of the course that has attracted much criticism from students, sponsoring agencies and even some staff. On many occasions, suggestions have been made to the effect that the course be extended beyond the present one year. This was the case during a seminar/refresher course organized for ex-students in Freetown, Sierra Leone in 1976. At that meeting, former students specifically recommended that "the duration of the course in Du Sautoy College (i.e., PAID/WA) be increased to two academic years" (Seminar Report, 1976, p. 27). The following year in Lusaka, Zambia, former students in Eastern and Southern Africa also emphatically endorsed the same recommendations as made at the Freetown meeting by their colleagues.

Not only have ex-students expressed the need to extend the course, but so have some countries like Cameroon and even staff of PAID/WA indicated their interest to see this happen. The Cameroon government, on its part, has made it clear that unless the whole

program is restructured and realigned to match the two year system for French speakers at PAID Douala, it will not only continue to reject the diploma awarded by PAID/WA, but will even go further to prevent its students from attending future courses.

As observed from responses, there was unanimity in concurring with all previous recommendations calling for an extension of the course. Seventy percent indicated that the course as is presently run is short or too short, and hence needed to be extended. Twenty-eight percent held the opinion that the present time period is adequate, while only 2 percent indicated that the program as it is, is long or too long.

It was also interesting to observe that Cameroonians top the list of those who think that the training program is short as seen in Table 5. Their attitude is hardly surprising given the current

Table 5. Attitudes toward course duration by country.

	Cameroon %	Gambia %	Ghana %	Liberia %	Nigeria %	S. Leone %	Total %
Short	29	5	13	2	15	6	70
Adequate	7	-	6	2	13	-	28
Long	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
Totals	36	6	20	4	28	6	100

difficulties they are experiencing with the recognition of their diplomas by their government. The slightly higher percentage in the

number of Nigerians who indicated that the present one year duration is adequate may primarily be due to the high pre-entry level of many students from that country. One of the participants who had a Bachelor's degree before attending the course observed that prior to entering PAID/WA, he had been led to thinking erroneously that the program he was coming to follow was at the post-graduate level. Subsequently, he found out that all the requirements he had to meet to graduate could have been fulfilled within a period of six months.

With regards to what participants considered to be the most ideal length for the program, 2 percent suggested a twelve-months period; 7 percent felt that an increase of time to twenty-seven months will be adequate, and the remaining majority of 57 percent recommended an extension to eighteen months or two academic years.

As expected, 75 percent of all Cameroonians voted for two academic years--clearly reflecting their anxieties about the current situation with regards to the need to gain recognizable diplomas. The ratings in favor of two years in the case of other countries was as follows: Gambia, 33%; Ghana, 60%; Liberia, 25%; Nigeria, 43% and Sierra Leone, 50%. On the whole, the overwhelming recommendation as revealed by participants' responses was that the duration of the course be increased to two academic years.

Diploma recognition. The problem of recognizing the diplomas awarded by PAID/WA has been and will continue to remain an explosive issue until a permanent solution is found. The current difficult situation

of non recognition in certain cases is made even the more complicated because some participating countries accept the qualification without problems. In order to determine the degree of the problem in each country covered in the survey, participants were asked to indicate whether or not their diplomas were recognized by their employers. Table 6 is a tabulation of the various responses by country.

Table 6. Diploma recognition by employer.

Country	% of Sample	Yes %	No %	No Response %
Cameroon	36	24	9	3
Gambia	6	6	-	-
Ghana	20	9	10	1
Liberia	4	4	-	-
Nigeria	28	23	4	1
Sierra Leone	6	3	3	-
Totals	100	69	26	5

As shown in the above table, all countries with the exception of Gambia and Liberia have problems recognizing the diploma awarded by the Institute. As explained to this researcher by a Gambian official, Gambia has no problem accepting the PAID/WA qualification because first of all, that country has no similar training facility of its own; and secondly, students who are sent to the Institute for training are recruited from a fairly homogeneous background, thereby

rendering it easy for all graduates of the program to be promoted on returning home or be reinserted into the service at appropriate levels without major difficulties.

Supplementary comments, on the other hand, from some participants in Cameroon and Ghana indicate that the issue has created nothing but frustration, bitterness and a sense of desperation, particularly among those who had their qualifications rejected. This sense of frustration is perhaps most exemplified by the Cameroonian situation where graduates of the Institute serving the government are not accorded the same status or recognition because of certain rules governing advancement or promotions in the service. The Cameroon Civil Service, for example, makes a sharp distinction between officers who are 'civil servants' and those who are 'contract officers.' The former are hired for an indefinite duration, and on retirement, are given a pension. The employment of the latter is usually for a fixed duration, with higher wages than civil servants, but no long-term benefits like a pension scheme. Officials whose employment is on a contractual basis get promoted as soon as they graduate from the Institute, while those who are civil servants do not get promoted. These differences in the reward system have created too many problems to the extent that the Cameroon government has indicated its unwillingness to change or twist its civil service rules and procedures so that a handful of PAID/WA graduates can be accommodated.

Information dissemination. Turning over to the issue of circulating information about the Institute, it was quite evident from participants' responses that not much has been done. It was important to know if adequate information concerning PAID/WA's training program was widespread in each of the countries at two levels; first, within the nation as a whole, and second, within the relevant Ministries and agencies that send students to PAID/WA for training.

Responding to the statement, "state amount of information available in your country about PAID," 49 percent of all participants indicated that not much was available. According to 36 percent, sufficient information is available, and only 5 percent thought that what is available is plentiful. The situation in each of the countries as shown in Table 7 is illustrative of the degree to which some countries are more lacking than others in terms of what they know about PAID as a whole.

Table 7. Information availability on the Institute.

	Cameroon %	Gambia %	Ghana %	Liberia %	Nigeria %	S.Leone %
Not Much	31	17	70	50	57	83
Sufficient	44	83	30	25	25	17
Plenty	25	-	-	25	18	-
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100

Of all countries, Sierra Leone appears to be the least informed with 83 percent of all its nationals claiming that not much information on PAID is available in that country. It is not exactly certain why this is the case, since Sierra Leone is among the very few countries that have had contact with PAID/WA since 1969. Nonetheless, it seems quite clear that on a general level, much more needs to be done by way of circulating adequate information on the Institute's activities in each of the countries concerned.

With regards to whether or not relevant departments and agencies that send students to PAID/WA for training are well informed about the Institute's program; 42 percent indicated that this was the case; 33 percent disagreed that relevant departments were well informed, and 25 percent claim that they did not know. The situation in each country again is as illustrated in Table 8.

Table 8. Information spread about PAID/WA's training in relevant departments and agencies.

	Cameroon %	Gambia %	Ghana %	Liberia %	Nigeria %	S. Leone %
Yes	53	67	25	25	43	17
No	25	33	45	25	32	83
Don't Know	22	-	30	50	25	-
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100

The overall position with regards to the circulation of information within relevant sponsoring agencies does not seem to be satisfactory at all. As long as the various countries and especially the agencies that send students to PAID/WA for training remain relatively uninformed about the Institute, there is no doubt that in the foreseeable future, the Institute's efforts in general will neither be appreciated nor fully recognized.

Institutional resources. If information spread is very important for the building up of an organization's image, what also appears to be very crucial for its survival is its ability to strengthen its enabling linkages with those who support it. The extent to which PAID will survive in the future depends a great deal on whether or not those who directly benefit from its services are willing to make financial sacrifices on its behalf on a permanent or long-term basis.

Participants were therefore asked to indicate whether or not they thought the cost of their training could be borne by their sponsors. The pattern of responses was as follows: 56 percent did not know if their governments or employers would agree to sponsor them; 26 percent categorically indicated that there was no possibility of this happening, and only a mere 17 percent agreed that there was a chance of having financial sponsorship from home.

Admittedly, policy with respect to such matters is not within the competence of employees at the level of PAID/WA graduates. But what seems important for PAID as a whole is the need to determine

the extent to which sponsoring agencies will be prepared in the future to settle at least part of the bills for the training of their staffs.

Program relevance and utility. A final concern that was also covered in the survey was the element of the usefulness or relevance of the training program to participants' work situations in their home countries. As observed from their responses, there seems to be a sharp difference in expectations between former students and their employers. In general, participants perceive the course as being relevant to their work. Forty percent indicated this as true to a great extent; 35 percent to a considerable extent; 24 percent to a small extent, and only an insignificant 1 percent regarded the course as not providing useful skills. On the contrary, a majority of 77 percent rated the training as not providing them with what their employers expected; 15 percent indicated that employers' expectations were met only to a small extent; 4 percent said this was true to a considerable extent, and the remaining 4 percent said that employers' expectations were met to a great extent.

What seems quite obvious from these ratings is the fact that somewhere between participants and their employers lies a serious problem which the Institute may not be well aware of. In order to render its services in a more useful way both to participants and their employers at the same time, some efforts will have to be made in identifying the needs of the latter, especially with regards to

what is expected from the program.

Analysis of Data

From data presented above in this chapter and elsewhere in the study, it was observed that certain factors have been instrumental in enabling PAID/WA to achieve partial institutionality or the situation in which the training course and diploma awarded by the Institute have been accepted and recognized only by certain clients and not all. In this section of the study, an attempt will be made to present a brief analytical summary of those positive and negative factors that have either contributed to strengthening or weakening PAID/WA's institution building efforts.

Strengths of the system. There are indeed many positive factors that have contributed to enhancing the institution building efforts of PAID/WA. Only the major ones will be discussed in the remaining part of this chapter. The first of these is closely related to the philosophy or guiding principles of PAID--its parent organization. The guiding principles of PAID as conceptualized by the founders of the organization have not only been the main source of its strength, but are regarded as the most critical factors that have given it a specific sense of mission and direction in carrying out the activities with which it has been charged.

The very fact that the Institute was designed and geared toward the fulfillment of needs considered by African countries as being of

prime importance to their own development efforts and survival, constitutes one major reason that has led to its recognition and acceptance as a development training facility in general. By focusing its attention and efforts to issues and concerns of current importance, it has demonstrated its willingness and seriousness in collaborating with African governments and other similar agencies in the search for solutions to the many problems of development.

Its second strength lies in the fact that it is a neutral organization that is free from control by governments or other similar bodies. As stated in its articles of association, its orientation is based on the premise that

> It shall not be influenced by the ulterior motives of any political party, religious body, a particular ideology, a state or groups of states (Art. 3).

On a continent where alliances and allegiances are often based on considerations such as ethnicity, religious beliefs and similar other factors, PAID as a whole has carefully and effectively been able to induce acceptance and respectability among the users of its services without becoming partisan, partial or controversial in its political and ideological orientation. This partly explains why PAID/WA has been able to approach and serve most governments and non-governmental organizations without the usual suspicion and other problems that face similar international agencies of its type.

A third positive aspect of the Institute is shown in its ability to vigorously promote an integrated approach to solving development

problems. Since its inception, it has worked hard, especially through the one year training program, to demonstrate the necessity for development problems to be viewed and tackled on an integrated basis. Its full support and backing for the integrated approach has come to represent a meaningful search for suitable strategies and methodologies that can lead to the finding of concrete solutions to Africa's development problems. To this extent, the multidisciplinary aspect of its training program is a clear manifestation of its efforts and desire to see this goal truly translated into reality.

A fourth possible strength of the Institute lies in its very nature and character of being international. On a continent where national boundaries are based on arbitrary criteria and decisions made by former colonial powers, misunderstandings and hostilities have too often characterized the relationships between and among men. By bringing people of different national origins to study together in one setting, PAID/WA is indeed helping to create an atmosphere of understanding and unity among a people who for many years have had little or no communication regarding the common problems that affect them.

Finally, one positive factor that has enabled PAID/WA to achieve institutionality to some extent has been the ability of PAID as a whole to instill in its staff, a sense of commitment and dedication to the cause of promoting meaningful change. This is in itself an important accomplishment because the extent to which institutional goals are effectively implemented depends a great deal on the

professionalism of those assigned to the task. To this extent, Institute personnel have ably demonstrated that even within the difficult framework of a multidisciplinary program, they have been able to share a common set of educational values, including a pragmatic educational methodology that has the potential of enabling the attainment of ultimate societal goals.

Weaknesses of the system. Just as the above mentioned factors have helped to enhance the institution building process at PAID/WA, so have obstacles and shortcomings of various types been instrumental in inhibiting the Institute's efforts to become institutionalized.

In discussing issues that are crucial in the organization of an educational institution, Hill et al (1973) have suggested the following factors as being important: (i) the encouragement of interaction between theory and practice with the objective of stimulating both extension of the frontiers of knowledge and the application of new knowledge to practice; (ii) fostering new combinations of knowledge which cut across the usual functions or disciplines; (iii) creation of a productive atmosphere in which the members enjoy their work and feel rewarded for their efforts; and (iv) reduction of unproductive tensions, jealousies, and hostilities which may arise from traditions of secrecy, the manipulation of persons, or the absence of openness in communication.

As discerned from the data presented in the preceding chapters, factors that have contributed to inhibiting or weakening the institution building efforts of PAID/WA are similar to those mentioned by

Hill et al but also include the following: the one year course which has been rated as short; the insufficient distribution of information about Institute activities; discrepancies and the incongruity in the expectations of both course participants and their employers; a partially recognized diploma; the verbal disapproval of certain publics concerning the behavior of Institute authorities with regard to their disrespect for local norms and institutions; and above all, the ubiquitous problem of influence distribution within the system as a whole.

Among all of these factors, what has been observed as obstructing the course of attaining institutionality at PAID/WA most have been: (i) the non-uniform admission requirements, (ii) the non recognition of the Institute's diploma by some employers, (iii) the lack of adequate specialization or concentration in specific disciplines, (iv) the poor spread of information about the Institute's activities, and (v) finally, a dysfunctional situation in which the organizational structure and patterns of distributing authority have increasingly become contentious to the point of posing serious threats to the stability of the Institute. These are all serious handicaps which have tended to weaken the Institute's efforts in becoming a viable and valued entity. The extent to which corrective measures are taken to solve these problems is important, not only for the products of the system, but also for the very survival of the Institute itself.

PAID/WA cannot take pride in its institutional accomplishments

unless she is able to build and strengthen her abilities and further acquire capabilities that will enable her to produce men and women who can meet the frustrations and challenges of inducing change in an underdeveloped Africa.

What all of this, in total sum, means is that she must make concerted efforts to eliminate known deficiencies and seek various ways of improving her programs. For this seems to be the only sensible course of action that can bring about or quicken the pace of achieving complete institutionality.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As outlined in the purpose statement in Chapter I, the main objective for undertaking this study has been to explore and to determine both positive and negative factors that have contributed to strengthening or weakening PAID/WA's institution building efforts. As a formative evaluation of the Institute, it was important to determine these factors so as to seek ways of effecting improvements in its activities.

In carrying out this research, the fundamental question that the study was addressed to was the following: What significant factors have inhibited or contributed to the institution building efforts of PAID/WA especially with regards to the acceptance of its training program in integrated rural development? In order to answer or deal with this question, the institution building model or conceptual framework developed by Esman (1966) and other scholars of the Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building was used as the main theoretical reference point for exploring and analyzing the various relevant factors.

As a case study, it was necessary to provide some background information with respect to how the Institute had evolved and the various processes and historical changes and experiences which it has undergone since its establishment. It was discovered that PAID/WA had gained some recognition and partial acceptance of its programs

by its users because its main emphasis and focus has been in areas of development that are of prime concern to most countries.

On the other hand, certain factors were seen as inhibiting or obstructing its institution building efforts. These include problems of leadership, the inequitable distribution of influence within the system, limited participation in decision making on the part of the staff, problems arising out of the non-uniform recruitment of students, a diploma that was not recognized by all employers and a host of other shortcomings that had primarily contributed to preventing the Institute from becoming institutionalized.

Given the fact that PAID/WA is a growing institution whose services would continue to be in demand as long as problems of development persist, there appears to be absolute need for it to reexamine its strategies so as to improve upon areas that are weak, as well as strengthen those that have made positive contributions toward its institutional development efforts. Its training program and other activities will only in the final analysis be regarded as achieving institutionality if she is able to adapt herself to the needs of her clientele and offer a service that is regarded as having intrinsic value.

Recommendations for Improvements

Following what has been presented above, it seems quite clear that certain changes and improvements will have to be made if the Institute must be seen as fulfilling a vital societal function.

First, it will have to carefully identify and examine the development needs and requirements of its user nations so as to avoid wasteful duplication of efforts and resources. At the present time, some African countries are establishing similar facilities of their own. PAID/WA must make efforts to determine the nature and character of these institutions and find out the extent to which it can supplement their efforts or forge collaborative relationships with them. This will not only reduce current pressure on its own facilities and resources, but on a much more positive note, will assist a great deal in developing and promoting a spirit of self-reliance among beneficiaries of its services.

Secondly, as a matter of immediate necessity and urgency, the Institute must take a second look at the present program as it is currently run. Some decisions will have to be made with regards to student recruitments especially in terms of their entry levels and the amount of time that needs to be allocated to specialization and so on.

Thirdly, it will have to address itself to the recognition of its diplomas. Although it is not expected that the problem is one that can easily be solved overnight, it is nevertheless important for steps to be taken in the direction of finding a permanent solution especially with the countries affected. One possible factor of amelioration here could be the introduction of a second cycle course lasting for a specified duration for those who have already graduated from the current training program.

A fourth area in which vast improvements can be made is in information dissemination. Some misconceptions about the Institute as being a centre for the training of 'pan Africanists revolutionaries,' or the erroneous impression that the college is only a community development facility, have not helped to expose its true character and value to potential supporters and would-be users. It therefore seems necessary to suggest that for the purpose of building and improving upon its image a publicity campaign must be started and sustained.

A fifth and final recommendation is in the area of its organizational structure and policies of management and control. One main reason why there is currently much unproductive tensions, jealousies and hostilities at PAID/WA is because those in charge are quite often manipulative and secretive about decisions and other official matters that need to be handled and treated with openness and fairness. As long as administrative anomalies of this type continue to persist, there is no doubt that certain participants of the system will not only become alienated, but will also feel hostile towards those that they perceive as oppressive and unjust.

It is needless, therefore, to emphasize the fact that PAID/WA must create a comfortable equilibrium wherein there are genuine opportunities for participation, from the viewpoint of openness in communication, decision making and other similar factors that are necessary for attaining a favorable work climate.

Institutional objectives will have been achieved not only when problems related to the program alone have been resolved, but also after inherent irregularities in the leadership and organizational structure have equally been settled.

Suggestions for Further Research

PAID/WA, it should be noted, affords some rather interesting possibilities for additional case studies of this type to be carried out. The first suggestion along these lines is to have this study replicated; and in doing so, more emphasis should be placed on examining the discrepancies that currently exist in the expectations of both course participants and their employers.

A second study could be a thorough needs analysis including an inventory of resources and institutional facilities in African countries which will best determine areas that are most appropriate for PAID/WA to handle in its training efforts. The present one year course was specifically designed for the training of middle level personnel whose role was conceived as one of bridging the gap between policy makers and the grassroots. A needs analysis will be able to indicate whether or not a shift in training priorities and efforts should be made by the Institute.

A third and final study that can be of benefit to the institution building process at PAID/WA and PAID as a whole is one that aims at examining the Institute's organizational structure with regards to the

distribution of power and influence within the system, and the consequences that such patterns have for the attainment of institutional goals. In an institution where growth is a constant factor, there is no doubt that such a study will be of immense help in enhancing the structural aspects of its development process.

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APPENDIX A

Research Instrument

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Doctrine

1. What are the objectives of PAID as you understand them?
2. Do you fully agree with these objectives?
3. Would you agree that the objectives of PAID are understood by interested persons outside the organization as a whole?
4. Do you think that PAID should change its major emphasis on rural development to some other aspect of development? If yes, explain.

Resources

5. Do you feel that PAID is well financed? If not, why not, and how can the situation be improved?
6. The cost of training one student per year in PAID/WA Buea is approximately 1.5 million francs CFA (U.S. $5,000). By African standards, this figure is considered to to quite high when compared to the cost per student at most national Universities. Is this relatively large investment of capital justified?
7. PAID as a whole, at the present time, as in the past, is heavily financed from non-African sources. What is your feeling about this?
8. A U.S. AID mission that visited PAID a few years ago suggested that PAID institutions should begin to charge a fair price for the service they render their clients; e.g., consultations, etc. Do you agree?

Leadership

9. One writer has defined leadership as being those members of a group who hold formal positions of influence and decision making over an institution's activities. Do you consider yourself and other senior staff who are not Directors and above to belong to the leadership of PAID? If not, explain.

10. How would you describe the leadership style(s) of Directors Secretaries-General? Comment on such issues as:

    a. their attitude towards staff participation in decision making.

    b. fairplay and justice in the performance of their duties.

    c. authoritarianism versus permissiveness.

    d. administrative ability and organizational skills.

    e. devotion to and aggressiveness in the promotion of institutional objectives.

    f. adaptability and innovativeness.

11. Leaders of most organizations are usually regarded by the general public as symbolizing their establishment. How well or badly have the leaders of PAID/WA in the past represented the College in this context?

Organizational Structure and Management

12. Do you feel that PAID in general and PAID/WA in particular are structurally well organized for the accomplishment of institutional objectives? If not, what do you regard as major organizational weaknesses?

13. Is there adequate information flow with PAID as a whole? If not, what are the bottle-necks, and what consequences does this have for the operationalization of stated goals?

14. How well would you characterize PAID/WA in respect to

    a. authoritarianism versus permissiveness of the leadership?

    b. quality of interpersonal/intergroup communication?

    c. capacity to resolve interpersonal/intergroup conflict?

    d. degree of delegation of authority?

Programs

15. Do you regard the mix of activities, i.e., long versus short courses versus research, as satisfactory? If not, what improvements can be made?

16. Has PAID/WA been innovative in any important respect?

17. Has it made conscious and effective efforts to adapt to African situations and conditions?

Linkages

18. Do you regard PAID/WA's institutional relationships with African governments and also the Cameroon community as generally satisfactory?

19. How free has the Institute as a whole and PAID/WA in particular been from external political and/or social factors? Has any of these factors affected its development adversely?

20. Does PAID/WA have relationships with other institutions? If not, explain, but if so, explain whether or not these are satisfactory.

21. Are relevant publics well informed about the activities of PAID/WA?

General Evaluation

22. What do you see as the major factors contributing positively to the development of the Institute as a whole and PAID/WA in particular?

23. What do you see as the major impediments and handicaps of the institutional development of PAID/WA?

24. What do you see now as the major problems facing PAID/WA?

25. Comment on any other relevant point which has not already been covered.

APPENDIX B

Research Instrument

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What is the main goal or purpose of the Pan African Institute for Development as far as you understand it?

2. PAID is not a national institution. Do you think that the Cameroon government should support it financially and in other ways? If not, why not?

3. Do you have any contacts with the Institute? If you do, what kind of contacts are they?

4. If you know anyone who works for the Institute, or someone who has attended some of the courses offered there, what is your impression of the Institute from what they tell you?

5. What other general things do you know and would like to discuss about the Institute with me?

6. What is the general impression of the Institute among the local people who know it well?

APPENDIX C

Research Instrument

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Questionnaire for PAID/WA Graduates

01. Name of your country _____ 02. Sex ____ Male
____ Female

03. Entered PAID 19__ and graduated 19__

04. State highest qualification obtained before entering PAID.

(a) Academic, e.g., GCE 'O' Levels _____
(b) Professional, e.g., CD, Agric. _____

05. Where did you return to after PAID training? Pick one only.

(a) Former Dept ___ (b) Transferred ___ (c) Left Service ___

06. If transferred, was new job relevant to PAID training? _____ Yes
_____ No

07. If left service, explain: _____

08. How many times have you changed jobs since leaving PAID? _____

09. Was your PAID diploma recognized by your employer? _____ Yes
_____ No

10. Have you had any promotion since leaving PAID? _____ Yes _____ No

11. State amount of information available in your country about PAID?

(a) Not Much ___ (b) Sufficient ___ (c) Plenty ___

12. Are relevant Depts/Agencies well informed of PAID training?

(a) Yes _____ (b) No _____ (c) Don't Know _____

13. If PAID no longer offers scholarships, will your employer/govn't agree to sponsor its own candidates? ___ Yes ___ No ___ Don't Know

14. How do you feel about the length of the one year course?

(a) Too Short ___ (b) Short ___ (c) Adequate ___
(d) Long ___ (e) Too Long ___ 15. If not adequate, suggest length _____

16. How do you rate staff ability to teach? (a) Poor _____
(b) Fair _____ (c) Satisfactory _____ (d) Good _____
(e) Excellent _____

17. What is your rating of the administration of the College?
(a) Poor _____ (b) Fair _____ (c) Satisfactory _____
(d) Good _____ (e) Excellent _____

18. If you exactly knew PAID before course, would you have attended?
(a) Yes _____ (b) No _____

Listed below are statements which describe the kind of training program you attended in Buea. On the rating scales on the right side, please mark an X where each statement best fits what you think about the PAID program. The key to the number ratings is as follows:

0--I don't feel that this is true at all.
1--True to only a small extent.
2--True to some extent.
3--True to a considerable extent.
4--I feel this is true to a great extent.

	0	1	2	3	4
19. The course provided me with skills which I find very useful for my work.					
20. As a result of the program, I have begun to view my work problems analytically and logically.					
21. The training did not give me what my employers expected me to get from it.					
22. In general, the course content was too theoretical and of little practical value to me.					
23. The program was too long in relation to the benefit I derived from it.					
24. Some participants lost interest towards the end of the course.					
25. The program has helped me to raise my own personal goals and levels of career aspiration.					
26. The participants were poorly selected--many were not at a proper level.					
27. Common core subjects were useful in promoting inter-disciplinary perspective.					

0--I don't feel that this is true at all.
1--True to only a small extent.
2--True to some extent.
3--True to a considerable extent.
4--I feel this is true to a great extent.

		0	1	2	3	4
28.	The field studies were not as useful compared to the amount of energy, time and inconveniences suffered.					
29.	The case study (if applicable) did not contribute much to the program.					
30.	Specialization or Concentration should be started earlier to allow more room for direct focusing on one's interest.					
31.	Staff are poorly motivated and do not understand problems of students.					
32.	In general, program was well organized.					

APPENDIX D

Research Instrument

SAMPLE CORRESPONDENCE TO NON CAMEROONIAN FORMER STUDENTS

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
University of Massachusetts
Amherst 01003

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

G-34 North Village Apartments
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002 U.S.A.

June 7, 1982

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am currently engaged in some research work on PAID Buea which I believe will be of interest to the future of the College. The main aim of my study is to explore the strengths and weaknesses of the Institute's activities in order to determine what improvements are needed and ways in which desired changes can be effected.

As a graduate of the Institute, I have selected you amongst several others to provide me with data that is needed in my investigation. I trust that you will oblige and participate in this worthwhile exercise.

Kindly complete the enclosed questionnaire, and return to me without delay. Please mark the appropriate answer with an X, and respond to all questions as requested. You may attach an additional sheet to make further explanations or convey other information which has not been asked for, but which, in your opinion, is worth considering.

Because the time available to me to complete this study is extremely limited, I shall be very pleased if you can treat the questionnaire with speed and urgency.

I shall be glad to send you a summary of my findings whenever the study is completed, if you so request. As soon as my sabbatical leave is over in a few months time, I plan on returning to resume my duties at PAID Buea. Accept my best wishes in your career pursuits.

Yours sincerely,

Stephen N. Mbandi

Enclosure

APPENDIX E

Research Instrument

SAMPLE CORRESPONDENCE TO CAMEROONIAN FORMER STUDENTS

P. O. Box 255
Buea, Southwest Province

June 7, 1982

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am currently engaged in some research work on PAID Buea which I believe will be of interest to the future of the College. The main aim of my study is to explore the strengths and weaknesses of the Institute's activities in order to determine what improvements are needed and ways in which desired changes can be effected.

As a graduate of the Institute, I have selected you amongst many others to provide me with data that is needed in my investigation. I trust that you will oblige and participate in this worthwhile exercise.

Kindly complete the enclosed questionnaire, and return to me without delay. Please mark the appropriate answer with an X, and respond to all questions as requested. You may attach an additional sheet to make further explanations or convey other information which has not been requested, but which, in your opinion, is worth considering.

Because the time available for me to complete this study is extremely limited, I shall be very pleased if you can treat the questionnaire with speed and urgency. A stamped addressed envelope has been provided to help you expedite mailing.

I shall be glad to supply you with a summary of my findings whenever the work is completed if you request. Accept my best wishes in your career pursuits.

Yours sincerely,

Stephen N. Mbandi

Enclosure

APPENDIX F

Frequency Distribution on Attitudes
Toward PAID/WA by Its Former Students
(Survey Respondents)

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ON ATTITUDES TOWARD PAID/WA BY ITS FORMER STUDENTS (Survey Respondents)

1. Q. Name of your country.
   A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Cameroon	36
Gambia	6
Ghana	20
Liberia	4
Nigeria	28
Sierra Leone	6

2. Q. What is your sex?
   A. Responses

Male	Female
86	14

3. Q. When did you graduate from PAID/WA?
   A. Responses

Year	Frequency
1970	5
1971	9
1972	6
1973	8
1974	8
1975	11
1976	7
1977	9
1978	6
1979	7
1980	11
1981	13

4. Q. State highest qualification before entering PAID/WA.
   A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Less than GCE 'O' Level	1
GCE 'O' Level	19

Category Label	Frequency
GCE Advanced Level	2
Bachelor's Degree	5
GCE 'O' Level plus professional diploma	59
GCE 'A' Level plus professional diploma	7
Bachelor's Degree plus professional diploma	5
No Response	2

5. Q. Where did you return to after PAID training?
   A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Returned to former department	95
Transferred	4
Left the service	1

6. Q. If transferred, was new job relevant to PAID training?
   A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Yes	4
No Response	96

7. Q. If left the service, explain.
   A. Response

   One former student left his job to do business.

8. Q. How many times have you changed jobs since leaving PAID?
   A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Once	6
Twice	7
No Response	87

9. Q. Was your PAID diploma recognized by your employer?
   A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Yes	69
No	26
No Response	5

10. Q. Have you had any promotion since leaving PAID?
A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Yes	68
No	32

11. Q. State amount of information available in your country about PAID?
A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Not Much	49
Sufficient	36
Plenty	15

12. Q. Are relevant Depts/Agencies well informed of PAID training?
A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Yes	42
No	33
Don't Know	25

13. Q. If PAID no longer offers scholarships, will your employer/ govn't agree to sponsor its own candidates?
A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Yes	17
No	26
Don't Know	56

14. Q. How do you feel about the length of the one year course?
A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Too Short	13
Short	57
Adequate	28
Long	1
Too Long	1

15. Q. If not adequate, suggest length.
A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
12 months	2
18 months	57
27 months	7
No Response	34

16. Q. How do you rate staff ability to teach?
A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Poor	1
Fair	5
Satisfactory	29
Good	49
Excellent	14

17. Q. What is your rating of the administration of the College?
A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Poor	5
Fair	17
Satisfactory	29
Good	39
Excellent	10

18. Q. If you exactly knew PAID before course, would you have attended?
A. Responses

Category Label	Frequency
Yes	83
No	16
No Response	1

Frequency distribution for variables 19 to 32

Missing Responses

Variable	Frequency
25	1
26	3
28	1
29	5
31	1
32	2

		I don't feel that this is true at all.	True to only a small extent.	True to some extent.	True to a considerable extent.	True to a great extent.
		0	1	2	3	4
19.	The course provided me with skills which I find very useful for my work.	1	6	18	35	40
20.	As a result of the program, I have begun to view my work problems without difficulties.	4	10	26	32	28
21.	The training did not give me what my employers expected me to get from it.	77	11	4	4	4
22.	In general, the course content was too theoretical and of little practical value to me.	54	21	12	9	4
23.	The program was too long in relation to the benefit I derived from it.	84	6	6	2	2
24.	Some participants lost interest towards the end of the course.	30	26	25	8	10
25.	The program has helped me to raise my own personal goals and levels of career ambitions.	8	4	14	25	48
26.	The participants were poorly selected--many were not at a proper level.	17	17	26	16	21
27.	Common core subjects were useful in promoting integration.	4	4	7	27	58

	I don't feel that this is true at all.	True to only a small extent.	True to some extent.	True to a considerable extent.	True to a great extent.
	0	1	2	3	4
28. The field studies were useful when compared to the amount of energy, time and inconveniences suffered.	7	5	11	26	50
29. The case study (if applicable) contributed much to the program.	6	9	11	32	37
30. Specialization or Concentration should be started earlier to allow more room for direct focusing on one's interest.	4	11	7	21	57
31. Staff are poorly motivated and do not understand problems of students.	39	15	28	12	5
32. In general, the program was well organized.	2	7	20	38	31

APPENDIX G

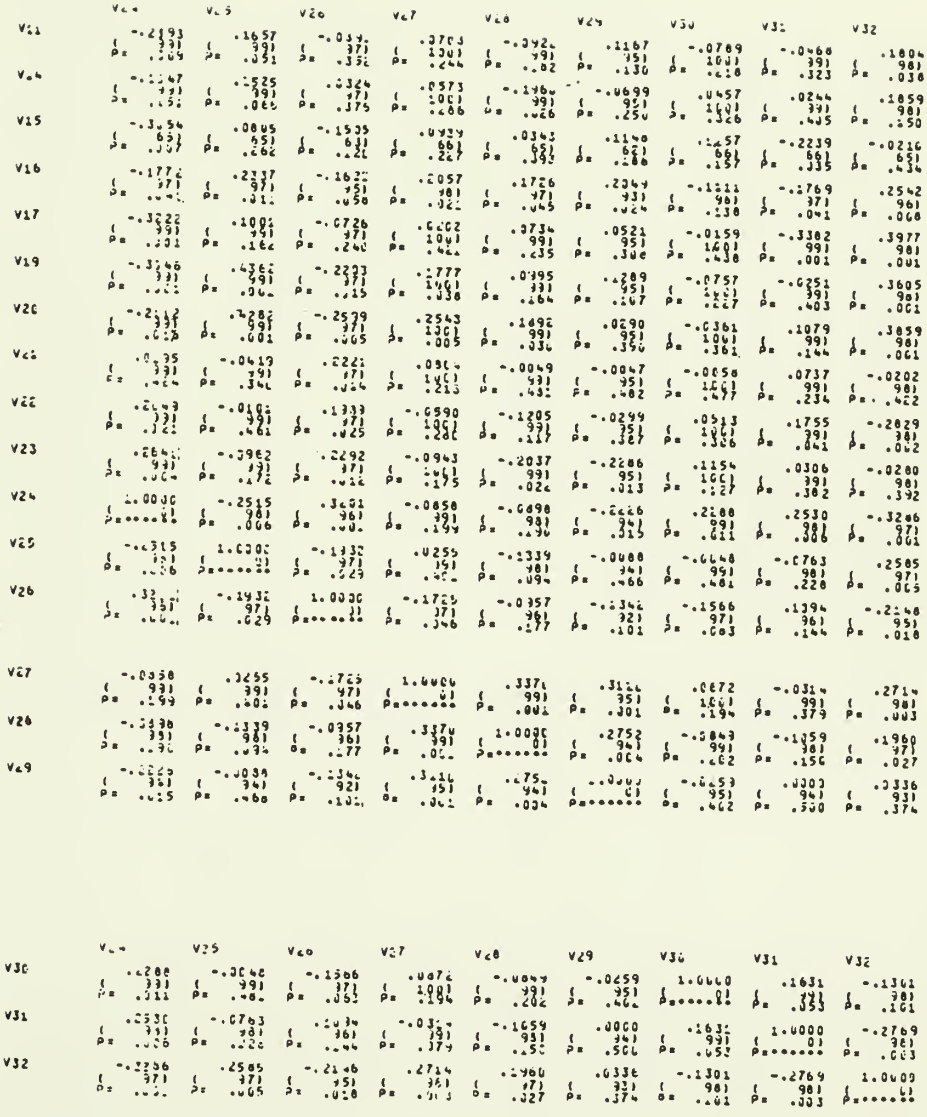
Pearson Correlation Coefficients

FREQUENCIES ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS PAID/WA
BY ITS FORMER STUDENTS

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	V11	V14	V15	V16	V17	V19	V20	V21	V22	V23
V11	1.0000 (01) P=********	-.0577 (1001) P= .284	-.0660 (661) P= .299	.6277 (981) P= .393	.2107 (1001) P= .018	.1704 (1001) P= .045	.3874 (1001) P= .194	-.1539 (1001) P= .067	.0446 (1001) P= .330	-.1523 (1001) P= .065
V14	-.0577 (1001) P= .284	1.0000 (01) P=********	99.0000 (661) P=********	-.2165 (981) P= .015	-.0465 (1001) P= .345	-.0271 (1001) P= .395	-.1528 (1001) P= .165	-.1150 (1001) P= .127	-.0688 (1001) P= .274	.1985 (1001) P= .029
V15	-.0660 (661) P= .299	99.0000 (661) P=********	1.0000 (01) P=********	.1466 (661) P= .135	.0716 (661) P= .284	-.0404 (661) P= .350	.0031 (661) P= .490	-.1757 (661) P= .079	-.1074 (661) P= .195	-.1014 (661) P= .204
V16	.0277 (981) P= .393	-.2185 (981) P= .015	.1432 (661) P= .135	1.0000 (01) P=********	.2273 (981) P= .012	.2196 (981) P= .015	.2837 (981) P= .002	.0486 (981) P= .317	-.0566 (981) P= .290	-.0568 (981) P= .284
V17	.2107 (1001) P= .018	-.0465 (1001) P= .345	.0716 (661) P= .284	.2273 (981) P= .012	1.0000 (01) P=********	.1556 (1001) P= .061	.0818 (1001) P= .209	.1041 (1001) P= .151	-.2135 (1001) P= .016	.0238 (1001) P= .407
V19	.1704 (1001) P= .045	-.0271 (1001) P= .395	-.0404 (661) P= .350	.2196 (981) P= .015	.1556 (1001) P= .061	1.0000 (01) P=********	.5995 (1001) P= .001	-.2058 (1001) P= .020	-.1478 (1001) P= .110	-.2195 (1001) P= .014
V20	.3874 (1001) P= .194	-.1528 (1001) P= .665	.0031 (661) P= .494	.2837 (981) P= .002	.0818 (1001) P= .209	.5995 (1001) P= .001	1.0000 (01) P=********	-.3581 (1001) P= .283	-.1944 (1001) P= .025	-.2724 (1001) P= .003
V21	-.1539 (1001) P= .067	-.1150 (1001) P= .127	-.1757 (661) P= .079	.0486 (981) P= .317	.1041 (1001) P= .151	-.2058 (1001) P= .020	-.3581 (1001) P= .283	1.0000 (01) P=********	.1875 (1001) P= .150	.2624 (1001) P= .004
V22	.0446 (1001) P= .330	-.0688 (1001) P= .274	-.1074 (661) P= .195	-.0566 (981) P= .290	-.2135 (1001) P= .016	-.1478 (1001) P= .110	-.1944 (1001) P= .025	.1875 (1001) P= .150	1.0000 (01) P=********	.0398 (1001) P= .347
V23	-.1523 (1001) P= .065	.1985 (1001) P= .029	-.1014 (661) P= .204	-.0568 (981) P= .284	.0238 (1001) P= .407	-.2195 (1001) P= .014	-.2724 (1001) P= .003	.2624 (1001) P= .004	.0398 (1001) P= .347	1.0000 (01) P=********
V24	-.2333 (991) P= .039	-.0847 (991) P= .152	-.3054 (631) P= .037	-.1778 (971) P= .041	-.3222 (991) P= .001	-.3046 (991) P= .016	-.2112 (991) P= .424	.0195 (991) P= .021	.2049 (991) P= .004	.2641 (991) P= .172
V25	.1957 (991) P= .051	.1525 (991) P= .066	.0825 (631) P= .262	.2337 (971) P= .011	.1001 (991) P= .162	.4362 (991) P= .001	.4282 (991) P= .001	-.0019 (991) P= .340	-.0161 (991) P= .461	-.6962 (991) P= .172
V26	-.0731 (971) P= .352	.0324 (971) P= .376	-.1505 (631) P= .122	-.1622 (951) P= .358	-.6726 (971) P= .242	-.2263 (971) P= .015	-.2599 (971) P= .005	.2221 (971) P= .014	.1989 (971) P= .025	.2292 (971) P= .012
V27	.4793 (1001) P= .244	.0573 (1001) P= .286	.6939 (661) P= .227	.2457 (981) P= .021	.6602 (1001) P= .421	.1777 (1001) P= .038	.2543 (1001) P= .005	.0804 (1001) P= .213	-.0590 (1001) P= .282	-.0943 (1001) P= .175
V28	-.0922 (991) P= .342	-.1966 (991) P= .026	.0453 (651) P= .393	.1726 (971) P= .045	.0734 (991) P= .235	.6995 (991) P= .164	.1892 (991) P= .030	-.0049 (991) P= .481	-.1205 (991) P= .117	-.2037 (991) P= .522
V29	.4467 (951) P= .130	-.3699 (951) P= .256	.1146 (621) P= .188	.2349 (931) P= .024	.0521 (951) P= .368	.1249 (951) P= .107	.0290 (951) P= .390	-.0047 (951) P= .482	-.0299 (951) P= .387	-.2266 (951) P= .013

	V30	V31	V32
V11	-.0789 (1001) P= .218	.0457 (1001) P= .326	.1257 (981) P= .157
V14	-.0668 (991) P= .323	.0244 (991) P= .405	-.2233 (661) P= .035
V15	.1304 (991) P= .038	.1059 (981) P= .150	-.0225 (651) P= .434
V16	-.0257 (981) P= .136	-.1769 (971) P= .041	.2342 (961) P= .006
V17	-.0159 (1001) P= .434	-.3182 (991) P= .001	.3977 (981) P= .001
V19	-.0757 (1001) P= .227	-.0251 (991) P= .403	.3605 (981) P= .001
V20	-.0361 (1001) P= .261	.1679 (991) P= .144	.3859 (981) P= .001
V21	-.0054 (1001) P= .477	.0737 (991) P= .234	-.6202 (981) P= .422
V22	.0513 (1001) P= .106	.1755 (991) P= .041	-.2829 (981) P= .002
V23	.1154 (1001) P= .127	.0306 (991) P= .362	-.0280 (981) P= .392



APPENDIX H

Sample Calendar for
the 1979/80 Course

SAMPLE CALENDAR FOR THE 1979/80 COURSE

1.	Arrival of Students	5 October
2.	Orientation and Introduction to Integrated Rural Development	8 October-13 October
3.	Common Core	15 October-15 December
4.	Submission of Exercise	18 December
5.	Assessment of Lecturers and Students Evaluation of Staff/ Common Core	19 December-22 December
6.	Vacation	23 December-1 January
7.	Census Techniques	3 January-16 January
8.	Census	17 January-20 January
9.	Village Studies	21 January-9 February
10.	Write-up	10 February-15 February
11.	Preparation for Seminar and Reading of Reports	16 February-21 February
12.	Evaluation of Village Study Reports	22 February-28 February
13.	Seminar on Field Studies	19 March
14.	Techniques in Preparing Development Plans	3 March-7 March
15.	Zone Studies	10 March-5 April
16.	Write-up	6 April-11 April
17.	Reading Zone Study Reports and Preparation of Seminar	12 April-18 April
18.	Evaluation of Zone Study Reports and Draft of Case Studies	19 April-25 April
19.	Follow-up of Case Studies and Final Submission of Draft	27 April-1 May
20.	Seminar on Zone Studies Activities	2 May
21.	Common Core and Reflections on IRD	3 May
22.	Educational Excursion	5 May
23.	Seminar on Educational Tour	9 May
24.	Preparation of Session Papers	
25.	End of Lectures	14 June
26.	Assessment of Students/Lecturers	15 June-19 June

27.	Seminar on Integrated Rural Dev.	23 June
28.	Submission of Final Grades	24 June
29.	Diploma Day	26 June